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WILLIAMSBURG,

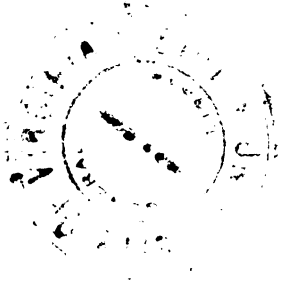
The Old Colonial Capital.

BY

LYON GARDINER TYLER, LL. D.

President of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Author of "*Letters and Times of the Tylers*," "*Parties and Patronage in the United States*," "*England in America*," "*Jamestown, the Cradle of the Republic*," etc.



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ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE.

Chart of Williamsburg (about 1790),.....Frontispiece.
Williamsburg and Vicinity, ... 9
Sir William Berkeley and Autograph,..... 15
Queen of Pamunkey's Frontlet,..... 17
First Survey of Williamsburg (between pages),.....20 and 21
Autograph of Francis Nicholson,..... 23
Tombstone of Edward Nott, ... 23
Black Beard, the Pirate,..... 27
Some Prominent Virginians — Robert Carter, William Byrd, Daniel Parke, Sir John Randolph,..... 29
Commission of James Wood as Collector for Frederick County,. 31
Robert Dinwiddie, ... 35
Autograph of John Blair,..... 35
Autograph of Francis Fauquier,..... 35
Duke of Gloucester Street, ... 39
Page from College Faculty Book, showing Autographs of James Blair and other Professors,..... 41
Page from College Faculty Book, showing Autographs of William Small and other Professors,..... 43
Shipping Receipt, on Account of College,..... 47
Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt,..... 51
Receipt of Rev. Thomas Gwatkin,.. 53
Gold Medal Presented to John Hobday,..... 63
Autograph of John Tyler, the Marshall,..... 63
John Murray, Earl of Dunmore,..... 69
Peyton Randolph, ... 73
Group of Revolutionary Statesmen—William Nelson, Edmund Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason,..... 75
Patrick Henry, ... 79
Page from Faculty Book, showing Autograph of President William Dawson, ... 87
Hand-Bill, Requiring Oath of Allegiance to Federal Government, 89
Bruton Church, ... 95
Petition of the Vestry for a New Church,..... 97
Bruton Parish Church Service,..... 101
The Bell of Bruton Parish Church,..... 105
View of Churchyard, showing Obelisk of David Bray,..... 109
Original College Buildings as seen at present,..... 113
Rev. James Blair, ... 115
Hon. Robert Boyle, ... 117
Boundary Stone, ... 121
First Page of the First Faculty Book,..... 131
Autograph of James Blair,..... 131
College Buildings in 1732,..... 135
Mrs. Sarah Blair, ... 139

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Bookplate of President William Stith,..... 145
List of Students, Scholars and Their Negro Boys, in 1754,....148, 149
Page from Faculty Book, showing Diploma Awarded to Benjamin Franklin, ... 151
Page from Faculty Book, showing the Autograph of Rev. Thomas Dawson, ... 152
County Surveyor's Bond, ... 155
Account of Thomas Jefferson, from Bursar's Book,..... 157
Autograph of President William Yates,..... 157
Autograph of Professor Richard Graham,..... 157
Thomas Jefferson, ... 159
Botetourt Medal, ... 161
Autograph of President John Camm,..... 161
Autograph of Professor Samuel Henley, ... 161
Autograph of President J. Horrocks,..... 161
Prominent Alumni—Landon Carter, Archibald Cary, John Page, 163
The College Seal, ... 164
James Monroe, ... 165
John Marshall, ... 167
Prominent Alumni—John J. Crittenden, Joseph C. Cabell, William T. Barry, ... 171
Edmund Randolph, ... 173
A Galaxy of Judges, Alumni of the College,..... 177
Chancellors of the College Since the American Revolution—Washington, Tyler and Grigsby, ... 179
George Washington, Chancellor, ... 181
Autographs of Presidents of the College,..... 183
Portraits of Presidents—Madison, Smith and Empie,..... 185
Military Alumni—Taliaferro, Scott, Croghan, ... 187
Portraits of Presidents—Dew, Saunders, Johns and Ewell,..... 191
Main College Building, erected after the fire of 1859,..... 199
Prominent Alumni—William W. Crump, Henry St. George Tucker and Nathaniel Beverley Tucker,..... 201
John Tyler, Sr., ... 203
The Capitol as It Appeared About 1830,..... 207
The Site of the Old Capitol,..... 211
Offices of the Governor,..... 215
Tombstone of Matthew Whaley,..... 219
Powder Magazine, ... 223
Advertisement in "Virginia Gazette" of the Merchant of Venice, 227
Phi Beta Kappa Keys and Raleigh Tavern,..... 233
The Apollo Room in the Raleigh Tavern,..... 235
Williamsburg Jail, erected in 1744,..... 238
County and City Courthouse, erected in 1769,..... 241
Hospital for the Insane,..... 243
Botetourt Masonic Chair and Old Masonic Lodge,..... 247
Noted Residences—Peyton Randolph House, Peachy House, Bassett Hall, ... 249
Noted Residences—Tucker House, Paradise House, Blair House, Wythe House, ... 251
Jamestown Island, ... 258
Old Windmill at Yorktown,..... 263
Seal of Yorktown, ... 263

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CONTENTS

Page

I. Settlement and History, ... 7

1. Middle Plantation, ... 7

2. Colonial Williamsburg, ... 19

3. Cradle of the Revolution, ... 38

4. College Village, ... 86

II. Bruton Church, ... 93

1. List of Ministers of Bruton Church, ... 108

III. The College, ... 110

1. Early History, ... 110

2. After the American Revolution, ... 166

3. The College Transferred to the State, ... 192

4. Presidents and Professors, ... 194

5. Objects of Interest at the College, ... 198

6. Summary of Leading Facts, ... 200

IV. The Capitol, ... 205

V. The Governor's House or Palace, ... 213

VI. The State Prison, ... 221

VII. Powder Magazine, ... 222

VIII. The Theatre, ... 224

IX. The Raleigh Tavern, ... 232

X. The Printing Office, ... 236

XI. The Williamsburg Jail, ... 238

Digitized by Google

Page.

XII. JAMES CITY COUNTY AND COURT-HOUSE, ... 239

XIII. COUNTY AND CITY COURT-HOUSE, ... 240

XIV. HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE, ... 241

XV. MASONIC LODGE, ... 245

XVI. NOTED RESIDENCES, ... 248

XVII. CAPITOL LANDING PLACE OR QUEEN MARY'S PORT, ... 256

XVIII. VICINITY OF WILLIAMSBURG, ... 257

XIX. ANECDOTES, ... 264

APPENDIX, ... 267

INDEX, ... 273

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WILLIAMSBURG

The Old Colonial Capital.

I.

Settlement and History.

Middle Plantation.

For twenty-three years after the landing at Jamestown, the English settlements in Virginia were confined to the valley of the James and to Accomac over the bay. Nevertheless, the need of a colony on York River, to act as a curb to the Indian tribes, seated on a branch of the York River, known as Pamunkey River, had long been recognized. As far back as 1611, Sir Thomas Dale, then governor, in a letter to the Earl of Salisbury, recommended the establishment of a fortified settlement at Chiskiack, some twenty miles from Point Comfort. But probably on account of the peace concluded in 1616 with the Indians by Dale, nothing was immediately done in furtherance of the suggestion. Chiskiack attracted attention again after the appalling massacre of 1622, when, of the settlers in Martin's Hundred, situated opposite on the James, seventy-three were slain, and the plantation there was so alarmed and weakened that it was temporarily abandoned. Then, in 1623, Governor Wyatt and his council wrote to the Earl of Southampton that they had under consideration a plan of "winning the forest" by running a pale between the James and York from Martin's Hundred to Chiskiack.

In March, 1624, when the royal commissioners, sent over by the king to report upon the colony, enquired of the authorities in Virginia "what places in the country are best and most proper to be fortified or maintained," their reply was that "the running of a pale from Martin's Hundred to Chiskiack, which is not above five miles, and planting upon both rivers, would be the best means to protect the Colony."

In 1626 Samuel Mathews, of Denbigh, and William Clai-

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borne, of Kecoughtan, offered to build the palisades, and construct houses, at short intervals, between Martin's Hundred and Chiskiack. They placed the whole cost at £1,200 sterling, and the annual expense of maintaining the work at £100. As a condition of their contract, they required that a grant be made to them of six score yards, on both sides of the palisades.[1] While it is not believed that the offer was accepted, the general assembly, in February, 1630, upon the arrival of Sir John Harvey as governor, passed an act to send and maintain a company of men to plant corn at Chiskiack.

At a meeting held at Jamestown, October 8, 1630, Sir John Harvey and his Council, "for the securing and taking in a tract of land called the forest, bordering upon the cheife residence of ye Pamunkey King, the most dangerous head of ye Indyan enemy," did, "after much consultation thereof had, decree and sett down several proportions of land for such commanders, and fifty acres per poll for all other persons who ye first yeare, and five and twenty acres who the second yeare, should adventure or be adventured to seate and inhabit on the southern side of Pamunkey River, now called York, and formerly known by the Indyan name of Chiskiack, as a reward and encouragement for this their undertaking."

Under this order houses were built on both sides of King's Creek, and extended rapidly up and down the south side of York River. During the very next year after Chiskiack was settled, William Claiborne, with one hundred men, settled Kent Island, 150 miles up Chesapeake Bay from Jamestown, and at the general assembly which met at Jamestown, February, 1632, Captain Nicholas Martian took his seat as the representative of "Kiskyacke" and the Isle of Kent. By September, 1632, population on the south side of the York River had become considerable enough to claim two representatives in the assembly. The region on the York was divided into two plantations—one retaining the old name, Chiskiack, and the other styled "York," settled by Sir John Harvey at the mouth of Wormeley's creek, about three miles below the present Yorktown.

[1] Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, I., 300.

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WILLIAMSBURG AND VICINITY.

From the Map of Virginia by James Madison, President of the College in 1777-1812.

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The plan of running a palisade across the Peninsula was no longer deferred, and Dr. John Pott blazed the way by obtaining, June 6th, 1632, a patent for 1,200 acres at the head of Archer's Hope Creek, midway between Chiskiack and James River. September 4, 1632, the general assembly directed that the encouragement of land offered two years before to inhabitants at Chiskiack, should be granted to all persons settling between Queen's Creek and Archer's Hope Creek. Then in February, 1633, it was enacted that a fortieth part of the men in "the compasse of the forest" east of Archer's Hope and Queen's Creek to Chesapeake Bay should be present "before the first day of March next" at Dr. John Pott's plantation, "newlie built," to erect houses and secure the land in that quarter. Under this encouragement, palisades, six miles in length, were run from creek to creek, and, on the ridge between, a settlement called Middle Plantation, (afterwards Williamsburg), was made. Sir John Harvey's enterprise is described[2] in the following extract from a letter written in 1634, from Jamestown, by Captain Thomas Yonge.

When the Governor came first hither, he found James River only inhabited and one plantation on the eastern side of the Bay, but now he hath settled divers good plantations upon another river which lieth northerly from James River and hath caused a strong palisade to be builded upon a streight between both rivers and caused houses to be built in several places upon the same, and hath placed a sufficient force of men for defence of the same, whereby all the lower part of Virginia have a range for their cattle, near fortie miles in length and in most places twelve miles broade. The pallisades is very neare six miles long, bounded in by two large Creekes. He hath an intention in this manner to take also in all the grounde between those two Rivers, and so utterly excluded the Indians from thence; which work is conceived to be of extraordinary benefit to the country and of no extreame difficulty, in case he may be countenanced from England in his good endeavours by the State of England and assisted by the inhabitants heere, who for the present are very destitute of all manner of Arms and munitions for the defence of the country.

Dr. John Pott, who received the first patent for land at

[2] Massachusetts Hist. Society *Coll.*, ix. (fourth series), 111.

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Middle Plantation, was a skilful physician, and doubtless recognized the sanitary advantages of the country around. As the ridge between the creeks was remarkably well drained, there were few mosquitoes and but little malaria, and the deep ravines penetrating from the north and south made the place of much strategic value. The only possible road down the Peninsula is over this ridge, and this road is easily defended.

Not much is known of the early years of the settlement beyond the fact that it was kept walled in with strong palisades, and served as a place of refuge from Indian attack.

In 1639 Middle Plantation was commanded by Lieutenant Richard Popeley, who patented 1,250 acres west of the palisades. He was born in 1598 in the parish of Wooley, Yorkshire, England, and in 1620, came in the *Bona Nova* to Virginia, where, in 1624, he was living at Elizabeth City. Though of little book education, Popeley won a high position in the colony by his valor and decision; and upon the request of the governor the council gave him, in 1627, 1500 pounds of tobacco, "he being a man, that both heretofore and is still ready to do good service to the colony." When Claiborne made his settlement at Kent Island in 1631, Popeley, who at the time was living near Claiborne's house at Elizabeth City, was one of his company of a hundred men; and a small island, now called Poplar Island, near Kent Island, was honored with his name.[3] In 1637, he was again residing at Elizabeth City; but in 1639 he was captain at Middle Plantation, where he died before 1643, leaving a widow, but no children, to lament his loss.

On April 27, 1644, occurred the second Indian massacre, and in consequence Captain Robert Higginson was directed, in 1646, to run a new pale at the settlement, as the old was out of repair. In June of that year the Court of York County entered an order, referring the difference between Captain Robert Higginson and one John Wethersford to the next court, "in regard ye dangerousness of the tyme will not permitt him (*i. e.* Higginson) to leave the Charge and Care of his undertakinge

[3] *Maryland Archives*, v. 225.

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at the Middle Plantation pale this p^rsent Court." And on October 26, certain persons living at the lower end of York Parish were ordered to pay each 35 pounds of tobacco to Captain Higginson for "not sending up a man to the Middle Plantation for that gen^rall worke in setting up a pale there according to former order."

Captain Higginson was the son of Thomas Higginson, of London, and was a man of importance. It is recited in a grant for 100 acres at Middle Plantation, that it was allowed him "for some certain service by him performed to the Country Anno 1646." It is, moreover, stated on Lucy Burwell's tombstone in Gloucester County, that she was the daughter of "the gallant Captain Robert Higginson, of the ancient family of the Higginsons, one of the first commanders that subdued the country of Virginia from the power of the heathen."

From the records in the land office in Richmond, and the deed and will books at Yorktown, we learn the names of some of the first residents of Middle Plantation.

Among them was John Clerke, or Clark, nephew of Sir John Clerke, of Wrotham, in Kent County, England, of whom there is a long pedigree in the "Visitation of 1621." He purchased 850 acres from Lieutenant Popeley, but died in 1646, without any heirs in Virginia. Two other settlers were Edward Wyatt and his brother, George, sons of Rev. Hawte Wyatt, minister of Jamestown, and nephews of Sir Francis Wyatt, governor of Virginia in 1621-1626, and again in 1639-1642. Stephen Hamlin had 400 acres at the head of Queen's Creek adjoining the land of Lieutenant Popeley, while George Lake had 250 acres at the head of Archer's Hope Creek, adjoining another portion of Popeley's land.

Southwest upon George Lake, northeast upon Captain Popeley's land, and southeast upon the palisades, Henry Tyler, ancestor of President John Tyler, patented 254 acres, occupying the present site of the "Mattey School" of William and Mary College, and extending westward so as to take in the property called "Northington," lately owned by Judge R. L. Henley, now deceased.

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In 1643 Richard Kempe, secretary of state, patented 4,332 acres on both sides of Archer's Hope Creek, consisting of several former grants, viz.: 1,200 acres called "Rich Neck," formerly the property of George Menifie, Esq., situated on the west side of the creek, and four tracts adjoining, of 100, 840, 2,192 and 600 acres respectively. The whole is described as partly on the east and partly on the west of the creek, bounded "East-south-east upon the said creek and the palisades, north-east-by-east and South east-by-east upon George Lake's Land, north upon the *horse path,* north-west-by-north upon the branches of Powhatan swamp, and South upon the Secretarie's Land."[4] In the Virginia Historical Society rooms is preserved a plat of this land, which shows a portion of the palisades making up from Archer's Hope Creek, as also the horse path along the ridge, where, at present, runs Duke of Gloucester Street. About 1660, this property, which comprised the present college land, passed to Thomas Ludwell, Esq., one of Kempe's successors in the secretary's office. He lived at "Rich Neck," where some old brick and tiles mark the site of his habitation.

In 1644 Henry Brooke, merchant of London, purchased from Captain Popeley 500 acres, which, in 1646, he sold to Nicholas Brooke, Jr., who, in 1649, conveyed the land to his father, Nicholas Brooke, Sr., which last, in 1652, sold 200 acres to Sam'l Fenn, of Martin's Hundred, describing it as beginning "att the creek upon the old pallasadoes, for length unto the land of Captain Robert Hickenson (Higginson) claimed, and for breadth unto the forrest."

After the restoration of Charles II., in 1660, we find resident at Middle Plantation such men as Peter Efford, whose daughter Sarah married Major Samuel Weldon; Otho Thorpe, who was of the same family as George Thorpe, massacred by the Indians in 1622; Colonel John Page, who was founder of the distinguished Page family of Virginia; and James Bray, a prominent merchant and later member of the council.

In Bacon's Rebellion, which happened in 1676, Middle Plantation figured next to Jamestown as the theatre of politics.

[4] The "Secretarie's Land," comprised 600 acres on Archer's Hope Creek, between Jockey's Neck and Archer's Hope.

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Here, on August 3, at the house of Major Otho Thorpe, Bacon held a convention of the leading men, including four councillors. Under the inspiration of his presence, resolutions were adopted, breathing the love of liberty which characterized the work of the patriots in Williamsburg a hundred years later. The people pledged themselves to resist Sir William Berkeley to the utmost, and even to oppose any force sent out from England. "Five hundred Virginians," said Bacon, "might beat two thousand Red Coats!"

After Bacon's death and the suppression of his followers, Middle Plantation was the scene of the execution of William Drummond, whom Berkeley was inclined to believe "the original cause of the whole Rebellion." On January 17, 1677, Berkeley, after an enforced absence on the Eastern Shore of about four months, landed at Colonel Nathaniel Bacon's residence at King's Creek, York River. Here he was presented by some of his soldiers with the distinguished prisoner, captured not long before in the recesses of Chickahominy Swamp.

When Drummond was brought before him, Berkeley said with much unction: "Mr. Drummond, I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia; you shall hang in half an hour." Drummond was made to walk to Middle Plantation, about eight miles distant, and tried before a drum-head court-martial, the next day, at the house of James Bray, Esq., under circumstances of great brutality. He was not permitted to answer for himself; his wife's ring was torn from his finger; he was stripped before conviction, was sentenced at one o'clock and hanged at four. Drummond was an educated Scotchman of good family, who had served as a sheriff and burgess for James City County, and as first governor of North Carolina. He lived near Greenspring, and had quarreled with Berkeley over some land. In the beginning of the difficulties he was told that Berkeley had "put a brand" upon him; and his reply[5] was: "I am in over shoes, I will be over boots." The same day on which Drummond was executed at Middle Plantation another rebel, a Frenchman, called Jean Baptista, was also hanged there. Not

[5] Force, *Tracts*, I., No. ix. 23.

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William Berkeley

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long afterwards, the expected regiment from England arrived in the colony, but found the rebellion suppressed; and the soldiers, after spending the winter among the ruined tenements at Jamestown, took up their quarters, in the spring, at Middle Plantation. They were under the command of Colonel Herbert Jeffryes, who held a commission to succeed Berkeley as governor, and was joined with two other persons—Sir John Berry and Colonel Francis Moryson—in a commission to investigate the causes and history of the rebellion.

Succeeding Berkeley's departure for England, on May 5, 1677, Governor Jeffryes invited the werowances of the neighboring Indian tribes to his camp May 29, 1677, King Charles II.'s birthday, to treat about a lasting peace. On this day there were present the queen of Pamunkey, her son, Captain John West,[6] the queen of Weyanoke, the king of the Nottoways, and the king of the Nansemonds. By the articles which they all signed, the Indian princes agreed to live in due submission to the English people, and, as a guarantee of good treatment, Jeffryes presented to each of them a coronet or frontlet adorned with false jewels. One of the frontlets, presented to the queen of Pamunkey, is now the property of the Virginia Historical Society.

The Middle Plantation must have presented a picturesque scene on this occasion. There were the old residents, full of excitement over the situation, looking with equal curiosity upon the Indians and the red coats. Each werowance was attended by a retinue of chiefs, resplendent in beads and feathers. The troops, numbering in all 1,094 men, were clothed in new uniforms; and, as they paraded, each of the five companies carried two flags with a coat-of-arms. The flags borne by Colonel Jeffryes' particular company carried "a crowned lion passant, upon the crown;" those of Captain John Mutlow's company, "the ground blue, with a red cross in a white field;" those of Captain Edward Picks' company, "the royal oak crowned;" those of Captain Charles Middleton's company, "white waved with lemon, equally mixed, with a red cross quite through, with J. D. Y. (James, Duke of York) in

[6] A half-breed, the reputed son of "an English colonel."

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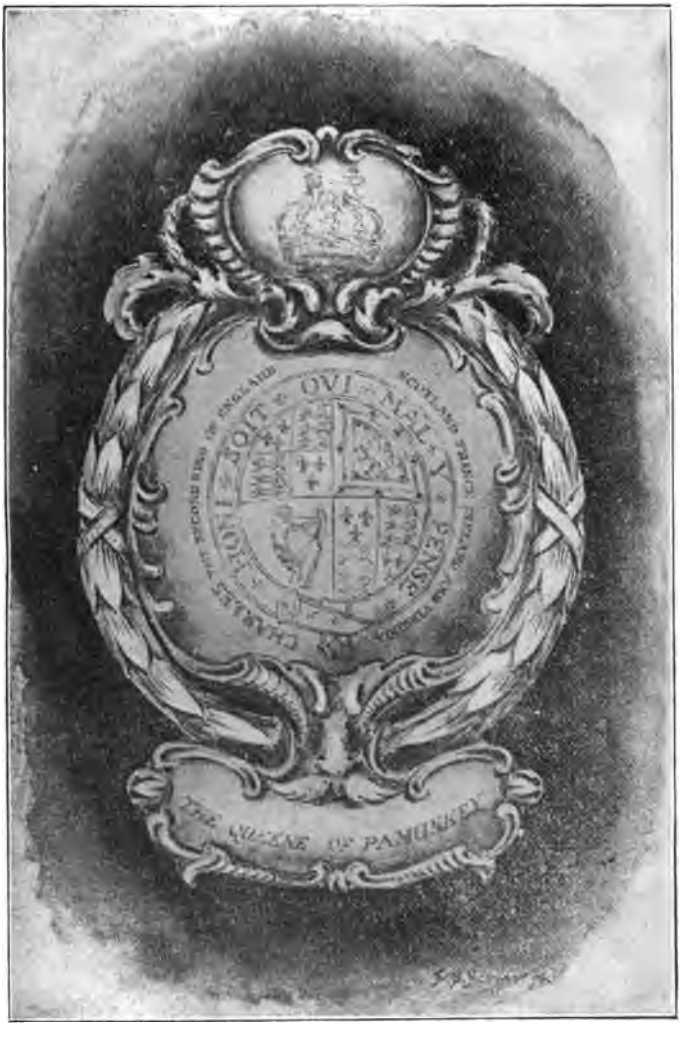

Frontlet of the Queen of Pamunkey,
Now in the Virginia Historical Society.

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cipher, in gold;" and those of Captain William Meole's company, "the ground green, with a red cross in a white field."[7]

As the state house and all other buildings at Jamestown were destroyed by Bacon, the first general assembly summoned after the suppression of Bacon's Rebellion was held, in February, 1677, at Berkeley's residence, "Greenspring," but in the succeeding October, the assembly met at Major Otho Thorpe's house in Middle Plantation. Among the laws made at the latter session was one which may be commended to our own times. A fine of 400 pounds of tobacco was imposed upon any person, who, by the use of such provoking terms as "traitor," "rogue," or "rebel," should "renew the breaches, quarrels and heartburning among us," and delay the restoration of the colony to its "former condition of peace and love." The growing importance of Middle Plantation was shown by a petition from some inhabitants of York County that the place be recommended to the king as the seat of government. But the commissioners were not willing to abandon Jamestown; and, on April 25, the general assembly resumed its sittings at the country's ancient capital, and steps were taken to rebuild the state house on the old walls.

On March 6, 1679, died at Middle Plantation, Hon. Daniel Parke, who succeeded Thomas Ludwell as secretary of the colony. He was born in Essex County, England, and his wife was Rebecca, daughter of George Evelyn, of the county of Surry. He was ancestor of Daniel Parke Custis, first husband of Mrs. George Washington, and was buried in the church, on the walls of which was placed a beautiful tablet to his memory.

Middle Plantation had, in 1674, been included in a parish called Bruton, and Rev. Rowland Jones, of Burford, in Oxfordshire, was the first minister. In 1683 a handsome brick church, costing £800 sterling, was erected on the horse path "in Middle Plantation old fields," to take the place of the wooden churches hitherto used. Then, in 1688, the minister of the parish died and was interred in the church yard. As Daniel Parke was the ancestor of Mrs. Washington's first husband,

[7] Calendar State Papers, *Colonial* (1675-1676), 1112.

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so Rev. Rowland Jones was the ancestor of Mrs. Washington herself.

Some others of the old denizens of Middle Plantation died not long after: James Bray, of the council, in 1691; John Page, also of the council, in 1692; and Major Otho Thorpe, in 1693.

In October of the latter year (1693) an act of assembly designated the Middle Plantation as the site for the proposed "free school and college" of William and Mary. "Townsend's land" on the bluff west of Yorktown had been first thought of, but the assembly declared Middle Plantation to be "the most convenient and proper for that design," which was now ordered to be built "as neare the church now standing in Middle Plantation old fields as convenience will permit."

Colonial Williamsburg.

In October, 1698, the state house at Jamestown fell again a victim to flames, and Governor Francis Nicholson[8] carried out the idea formerly suggested, and made Middle Plantation the seat of government. The assembly approved, declaring that Middle Plantation "hath been found by constant experience to be healthy and agreeable to the constitution of the inhabitants of this his majesty's colony and dominion having the natural advantages of a serene and temperate air, dry and champagne land, and plentifully stored with wholesome springs and the convenience of two navigable and pleasant creeks that run out of James and York Rivers necessary for supplying the place with provisions and other things of necessity." Rev. Hugh Jones states that Middle Plantation's exemption from

[8] Francis Nicholson was born in 1660; received an ensign's commission in the army June 9, 1678; made lieutenant May 6, 1684; lieutenant-governor of Virginia 1690; January, 1694, governor of Maryland; in 1698 returned to Virginia and remained there until 1705; in 1713 was made governor of Acadia, and in 1719 governor of South Carolina. He was knighted in 1720, returned to England in June, 1725, and died in London, March 5, 1728. By his will he left all his land in New England, Maryland and Virginia to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and to educate in England young New England ministers, to be sent back to their native country.

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mosquitoes, which very much troubled the dwellers at Jamestown, was another reason operating with the governor and assembly in favor of the removal.

The place was now newly named Williamsburg, after the reigning monarch, King William, and the first survey was made by Theodorick Bland. Two ports, each about a mile distant from the town, were laid out—one called Princess Anne Port on Archer's Hope or College Creek, about five miles from James River, and the other called Queen Mary's Port on Queen's Creek, about the same distance from York River. The body of the town occupied 220 acres; Princess Anne Port 23 acres, 37½ poles, and Queen Mary's Port 14 acres, 71¼ poles. So that the whole area of the town and ports, (including the two roads leading to the latter embracing 25 acres, 86¾ poles) was 283 acres, 35½ poles. The main street (called in 1705, Duke of Gloucester Street, in honor of Queen Anne's eldest son) followed partially the course of the old Middle Plantation horse path, and was 99 feet wide and seven-eighths of a mile long from the college to the east end of the town, where the capitol building afterwards was placed.

Governor Nicholson at first entertained the fanciful idea of laying out the town in the shape of a cipher, representing W. & M., but he changed his view, because of its inconvenience, though there is still a suggestion of these letters in the make-up of the eastern and western ends. Duke of Gloucester Street was flanked by two streets, which, taken together, made the founder's name, "Francis" (the street on the south,) and "Nicholson" (the street on the north). South of Francis Street was a parallel street, called Ireland Street, and north of Nicholson street was a parellel street, called Scotland street. In center of the town was a market square, through which ran England Street, at right angles to Duke of Gloucester Street. The other original cross streets were Nassau, King, Palace and Queen Streets. Botetourt, Henry and Colonial appear to have been, from their names, of later origin. The directors who had charge of the building of the town were Governor Francis Nicholson, Edmund Jenings, Esq., of the council, Philip Lud-

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well and Thomas Ballard, of the house of busgesses; and Lewis Burwell, Philip Ludwell, Junior, John Page, Henry Tyler, James Whaley and Benjamin Harrison, Junior, gentlemen. The ground was apportioned into half-acre lots, and one of the conditions of purchase was that no house should be built within six feet of the main street.

In a short time there arose at the Middle Plantation, under the fostering care of Governor Nicholson, a brick *capitol* (the first in the United States, so called), and a brick prison; and, to make the street (Duke of Gloucester) from the college to these buildings perfectly straight, it was ordered that the four old houses and oven of Mr. John Page (nephew of Colonel John Page) standing in the way should be pulled down and removed.

Nicholson did not remain in the colony long after this. He became infatuated with a young daughter[9] of Major Lewis Burwell, of King's Creek, and not finding his advances encouraged, he conceived the wildest jealousies against Dr. Archibald Blair, brother of the president of the college, and other prominent people in the colony. He often swore that if Miss Burwell married any other than himself he would cut the throats of three persons—"the bridegroom, the minister who should perform the ceremony, and the justice who should give the license." The majority of the council—Robert Carter, Dr. James Blair, John Lightfoot, Matthew Page, Benjamin Harrison and Philip Ludwell—all connected with one another, so Nicholson charged, by blood or marriage, united in an address to Queen Ann, and he was recalled to England.

And yet, despite his hot, peppery ways, Nicholson was no ordinary chief magistrate. While governor of Virginia, he did much to promote the college, gave money to a free school in Yorktown, and was the founder of Williamsburg; and while governor of Maryland, he founded, at Annapolis, King William's School (now St. John's College.)

He was succeeded as lieutenant-governor by Edward Nott,

[9] Martha Burwell, who later married Colonel Henry Armistead of "Hesse," in Gloucester County, son of John Armistead, of the Virginia Council.

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who, wiser than Nicholson, took care not to offend his council, and was, therefore, very popular; but he died only two years after his arrival. Three important events are identified with his administration: The burning of the college, in October, 1705; the passage of an act, during the same month and year, for the building of a governor's house or palace; and the founding, in 1706, by Mrs. Mary Whaley, of Mattey's free school, which was built on the road leading to Queen's Creek, not far from the bridge over the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad track. Upon the sudden demise of Nott, the general assembly erected over his remains in Bruton churchyard, a handsome box-shaped monument, which is still standing. He was succeeded at the head of the government by the president of the council, Edmund Jenings, (son of Sir Edmund Jenings, of Yorkshire, England), who acted as governor for four years. He, of course, spent most of his time in Williamsburg, but had his country residence at Ripon Hall, on York River. The attorney-general at this time was Stevens Thomson.

In 1710 Alexander Spotswood[10] arrived as lieutenant-governor, and, being a man of great energy, bestowed much attention upon Williamsburg during his administration of twelve

[10]Alexander Spotswood was great-grandson of John Spotswood, of Spotiswood, Scotland, who in 1635 became archbishop of Glasgow, and one of the privy council. His grandfather, Sir Robert Spotswood, president of the Court of Sessions, was a distinguished author, and was executed by parliament January 17, 1746. His father, Dr. Robert Spotswood, married a widow, Catherine Elliott, who had by her first husband, a son, General Elliott, whose portrait is now in the State Library, at Richmond, Va. Alexander Spotswood, only child of Robert and Catherine Spotswood, was born in 1676 at Tangier, while his father was surgeon to the governor of the island. He fought under Marlborough, and served as quartermaster-general with the rank of colonel. He was dangerously wounded in the breast at the battle of Blenheim. He brought to Virginia a confirmation of the writ of habeas corpus; was removed from the governor's office in September, 1722; retired to his farm in Spotsylvania County, where he engaged in the manufacture of iron; in 1720 deputy postmaster-general of America; appointed in 1740 major-general of an expedition against Carthagena, but died before the embarkation, at Annapolis, June 7, 1740, where he was probably buried. He left descendants in Virginia.

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AUTOGRAPH OF FRANCIS NICHOLSON.

TOMBSTONE OF EDWARD NOTT.

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years. He caused several ugly ravines that ran across the main street to be filled up, and thus made one level way from college to capitol. He assisted in rebuilding the church, and provided some of the brick. He built a brick magazine for the safe-keeping of the public ammunition, and completed the governor's house, which Nott had begun. Finally, he assisted in rebuilding the college, and was a patron of the first American theatre erected in Williamsburg. In addition to these buildings, which were pronounced at the time, by Rev. Hugh Jones, as the best then in British America, there were also a few private houses of brick, which presented quite a handsome appearance, and were inhabited by some very good families, who nearly all had their coach, chariot, berlin, or chaise. The stores in town were furnished with the best provisions and liquors, and the ordinaries afforded good accommodations to travellers and visitors. However, the generality of the private buildings were very ordinary structures of timber, of a story and a half high, painted white, and they afforded a rather startling contrast to the "well-dressed, compleat gentlemen and ladies" inhabiting them. We are told that, at the governor's house, on birth-nights, balls and assemblies, the scene presented was equal to anything outside the court circles in England.

The great lawyers resident in Williamsburg were the attorney-general John Clayton, William Robertson, William Hopkins, John Holloway, and John Randolph. The leading physicians were William Cocke the secretary of state, Archibald Blair, Lewis Contesse, John Serjanton, Robert Innis, and John Brown. Among the inn-keepers, the most prominent were Mrs. Mary Luke, widow of John Luke, formerly collector of the customs for the lower district of James River; Gabriel Maupin and Jean Marot—the last two being Huguenot settlers, who came with other Frenchmen to Virginia in 1700. Other residents were Colonel Nathaniel Harrison, Richard Bland, Francis Tyler, Dr. George Allen, John Tyler, Christopher de Graffenreidt, Gawin Corbin, Graves Pack, Thomas Jones, Francis Sharpe, Benjamin Harrison, and John James Flournoy.

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Williamsburg now began to assume an air of more than local importance. Ultimate American independence grew out of the conflict between France and England for mastery of the west, and Spotswood was singularly active in asserting the English title and in resisting the encroachment of the French and Indians. In 1716 he led from Williamsburg to the valley of the Shenandoah an expedition which blended romance with politics. Upon his return to Williamsburg, he presented every one of his company with a golden horse-shoe, bearing the inscription *Sic Juvat Transcendere Montes,* and some of them are said to have been covered with valuable stones, representing heads of nails.

As the college was obliged, by its charter, to pay two copies of Latin verses to the governor every fifth of November, as quit rent for its lands, Rev. Arthur Blackamore, professor of the grammar or classical school, sang the praises of this "Ultramontane Expedition" in classic lines, which he presented to the governor.

Among other incidents connecting Spotswood's name with Williamsburg, was the trial in the general court, over which he presided, and the subsequent execution at Williamsburg, of some pirates, associates of the famous Black Beard, otherwise called Captain Teach. This ruffian, who had been a terror to the coasts, was surprised in Pamlico Sound, in North Carolina, in 1718, by some sloops sent out by Spotswood, and in a hand-to-hand fight, was killed by Captain Henry Maynard, who commanded the expedition. Such of the crew as were captured were taken to Williamsburg, tried, and, after conviction, were hanged on the road leading to Queen Mary's Port (Capitol landing). For this reason, this road is still sometimes, called "Gallows Road," though it is now more generally known as Lovers' Lane, because of its affording a promenade for the young people of Williamsburg.

In 1720 died the secretary of state, Dr. William Cocke, born in Sudbury, Suffolk County, England and educated at Queen's College, Cambridge. His wife, Elizabeth, was the sister of the celebrated naturalist, Mark Catesby, whose work

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on the ornithology of America is still greatly admired. Dr. Cocke's tablet in Bruton Church reads as follows:

> **His Hon. Friend Alex^a Spotswood, Esqr.. then govr.**
> **With the principal Gentlemen of the Country**
> **Attended his Funeral**
> **And, weeping, saw the corps interred**
> **at the West Side of the Alter**
> **in this Church.**

In the last year of Spotswood's administration (1722), the town of Williamsburg was made, by order of the colonial council, "a city incorporate," and given all the rights and privileges usually incident to cities. By the charter, John Holloway, the eminent lawyer, became first mayor; John Clayton, first recorder; and John Randolph, John Custis, James Bray, Archibald Blair, William Robertson, and Thomas Jones, the first aldermen. The mayor, recorder and aldermen were empowered to choose from the free inhabitants twelve persons as a common council, and to fill all vacancies which should occur in their number; and the mayor, recorder, aldermen and common council constituted the city hall, which was vested with the power of making city ordinances and regulations. The members of the two chambers were to hold office during good behavior, but the mayor and the recorder were elected annually by the city hall out of the aldermen; and vacancies among the aldermen were supplied by the associated bodies out of the common council. The charter gave the city authorities the right to hold markets on Wednesday and Saturday of every week, and two annual fairs—on the 12th of December and the 23rd day of April in each year. A hustings court, composed of the mayor and aldermen, was to be held monthly, and the city was empowered to send to the house of burgesses one delegate, who, if a resident, was required to have a visible estate of two hundred pounds sterling, and, if not a resident, one of five hundred pounds sterling. It is thus seen that the government of Williamsburg originally was not very democratic in its administration, but it was not more aristocratic than towns in England.

Hugh Drysdale succeeded Spotswood as governor, and,

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BLACK BEARD, THE PIRATE.

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after his death, in 1726, Colonel Robert Carter as president of the council assumed the government. After little more than a year, Carter, in turn, gave way to William Gooch, Esq.,[11] who had been an officer in the British army. Gooch made himself very popular with the Virginians; and, outside of the ordinary vicissitudes, things went along very prosperously during his time.

In 1734 died John Holloway, first mayor of Williamsburg, who, for thirty years, had practiced law with great reputation and success. He was for fourteen years speaker of the house of burgesses, and for eleven years treasurer of the colony. The same year his rival at the bar, William Hopkins, died in London.

In 1728 William Parks, of Annapolis, Maryland, opened his printing office on Duke of Gloucester Street, and on Friday, August 6, 1736, he issued the first number of a weekly called the *Virginia Gazette.*

In March, 1737, died in Williamsburg, Hon. Sir John Randolph, speaker of the house of burgesses, treasurer of the colony, and representative in the assembly for the college. His funeral oration, in Latin, was pronounced by Rev. William Dawson, a professor in the college, and he was, at his own request, carried to his resting-place in the college chapel by six honest, industrious poor house-keepers of Bruton Parish, who had twenty pounds divided among them. Peyton Randolph, afterwards first president of the continental congress, and John Randolph, who lived to be the most distinguished lawyer in the colony, were his sons. Sir John Randolph was succeeded in the offices of treasurer and speaker by John Robinson, Jr., of King and Queen County.

[11] William Gooch was born at Yarmouth, England, October 21, 1681. He was nephew of William Gooch, whose tombstone is in the old churchyard at Temple Farm. He served under Marlborough and in the Rebellion of 1715. He arrived in Virginia October 13, 1727; in 1740 was commander of the ill-fated expedition against Carthagena; in 1746 was made a baronet, and later a major-general; he returned to England in 1749, leaving John Robinson as acting governor; he died December 17, 1751. He married Rebecca Stanton, and had an only son, William Gooch, who married Eleanor Bowles, but he left no issue.

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SOME PROMINENT VIRGINIANS.

1. Robert Carter. 2. William Byrd. 3. Daniel Parke.
4. Sir John Randolph.

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In November of the same year died another great lawyer, John Clayton, Esq., (son of Sir John Clayton, of London), who had been attorney-general of the colony, frequently a member of the house of burgesses, and judge of the admiralty court since 1714. His son, John Clayton, was a celebrated botanist, who wrote *Flora Virginica*, and kept a botanical garden at "Windsor," his home on the Pianketank.

In 1740 troops for the first time were transported from Virginia to co-operate with the forces of the mother country in an offensive war. England fell out with Spain, and Spotswood was made general of an expedition against Carthagena in Central America. Preparatory to setting out to Annapolis, whence he expected to embark, he visited Williamsburg, and while sojourning at the Brafferton building at the college, he made his will, devising his books and mathematical instruments to the institution. He died soon after at Annapolis, and Colonel Gooch was appointed chief in his place, with Lawrence Washington, half-brother of George Washington, as second in command. The expedition proved a dismal failure, and Gooch returned to Williamsburg without any military glory.

During his absence, which was from June, 1740, to July, 1741, Dr. James Blair, president of the college, acted as chief executive. He died in 1743, after a ministry of fifty-eight years, and after having served fifty-four years as commissary to the Bishop of London, and fifty years as president of the college.

The same year died Edward Barradall, an eminent lawyer, who succeeded Clayton both as attorney-general and as judge of the admiralty court. He was buried in the churchyard of Bruton church, under a splendid marble monument, which has a long Latin epitaph, celebrating his worth. He compiled the first reports of law causes in the general court, before which he practiced with much success.

In 1744 William Parks erected a paper mill on a branch of Archer's Hope Creek behind the present hospital for the insane, and some verses were printed in the *Virginia Gazette* to celebrate the enterprise of the editor, who thus published his news on paper made in the colony.[12]

[12] *Virginia Magazine* VII., 442.

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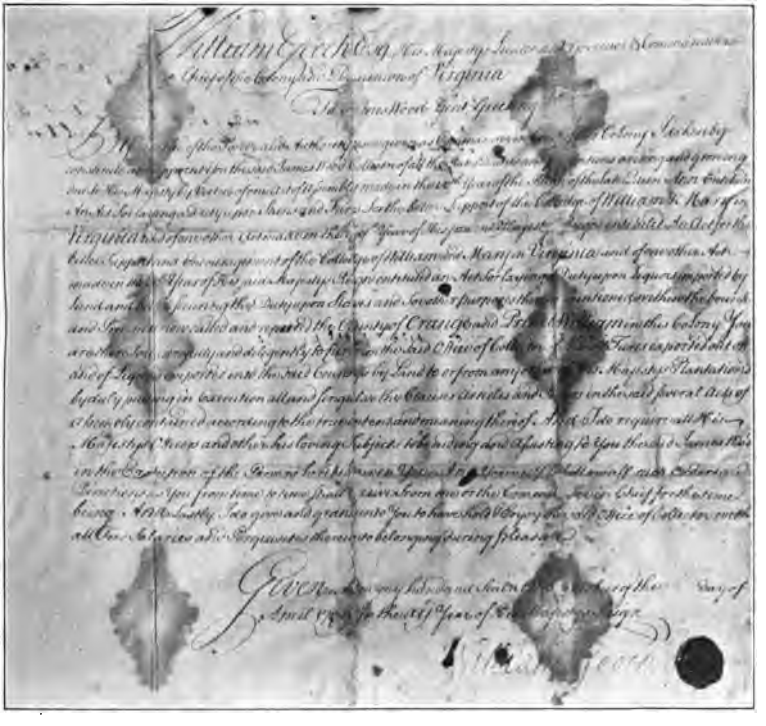

COMMISSION OF JAMES WOOD AS SURVEYOR OF FREDERICK COUNTY.

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In 1746, the capitol accidentally caught fire and was burned down, and thereupon an effort was made to change the seat of government to the Pamunkey River, but it did not prove successful, and a law was passed in 1748, to restore the capitol on the same site.

In May, 1746, the assembly appropriated four thousand pounds to the raising of Virginia's quota of troops for an invasion of Canada. They sailed from Hampton in June; but the expedition, like that against Carthagena, proved a failure. Governor Gooch, who was offered the command and declined, was made a baronet during the year, and in 1747 a major-general. At length, in 1749, after a long and popular administration, he retired to England with his wife, the Lady Rebecca (Stanton) Gooch, where he died December 17, 1751. His widow, who survived him till the year 1775, left, at her decease, to the college a silver gilt cup and patten, which are now in the possession of the authorities of Bruton church, in Williamsburg.

After his departure, there was an interval of two years, during which John Robinson, Thomas Lee and Lewis Burwell, as presidents of the council, acted as deputy-governors, and in this time steps were taken towards rebuilding and enlarging the palace. On October 15, 1751, Governor Ogle, of Maryland, visited the town, and on November 20th, Robert Dinwiddie[18] arrived at Yorktown with a commission as lieutenant-governor. He was an able man, had been collector of customs in Bermuda, where he exposed an enormous defalcation in the collections, and for this service, it is said, he was promoted, in

[18] Robert Dinwiddie, the son of Robert Dinwiddie, a prominent merchant of Glasgow, and Sarah, daughter of Matthew Cumming, who was a baillie of the city in 1691 and other years, was born in 1693 at Germiston, his father's seat; appointed December 1, 1727 collector of customs in Bermuda, and by his influence in detecting a fraud in the collection of the customs in the West Indies, was appointed "surveyor-general of customs of the southern ports of the continent of America"; commissioned August 17, 1753, inspector-general; appointed July 20, 1753, lieutenant-governor of Virginia; relieved at his own request from the government in January, 1758. He married Rebecca Affleck. His brother, John Dinwiddie, left numerous descendants in Virginia.

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1751, to the office of deputy-governor of Virginia, now the most populous and the most wealthy of all the Anglo-American colonies.

The day after his arrival at Yorktown, November 21, 1751, he set out for Williamsburg, in company with his wife, Rebecca (née Affleck), his two daughters, Elizabeth and Rebecca and his secretary, Nathaniel Walthoe, and was escorted by William Nelson and William Fairfax. When he arrived on the outskirts of the city, he was met by several other gentlemen—Dr. William Dawson, Colonel Philip Ludwell and John Blair, nephew of the late President Blair, of the college. At the capitol he was complimented with an address by the mayor, aldermen and common council, to whom he replied in a handsome manner, declaring his purpose of studying the welfare of the country and promoting its prosperity as far as possible; after which he took the oath as governor, and the councillors took their oaths anew, and soon after they all sat down, amid the booming of cannon, to a grand dinner at the Raleigh Tavern.

As the palace was not ready for occupancy when Dinwiddie arrived, he resided during part of his term in a house on the Palace Green, leased from Dr. Kenneth McKenzie, and now known as the Saunders house. A few weeks after his arrival the last top brick was laid on the capitol walls, but it was not till 1754 that the general assembly removed from the college, where it was temporarily lodged, to the completed building at the other end of the street. There was much gaiety in Williamsburg during Dinwiddie's time, and the plays attracted many people from a distance. The old play-house had been sold, in 1748, to the city as a city hall, and a new theatre was constructed, in 1751, at the east end, near the capitol. The city was the center of the business interests of the colony, and the merchants had a "cape company," which met twice a year for the regulation of exchanges and other matters of commercial importance.

Dinwiddie's stay in the colony is, however, chiefly remembered for difficulties with the French, which finally broke out

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into actual hostilities. The design of the latter was to hedge in the English colonies by a chain of forts extending from Canada to Louisiana, and, in 1753, they established a fort on the Ohio River in the territory of Virginia. Dinwiddie resented this presumption, and, in 1754, sent George Washington from Williamsburg to protest against it. The war, which soon followed, greatly excited the colonists, and in maintaining the English side Dinwiddie was tireless and indefatigable.

The war, at first, was very disastrous to the English. General Edward Braddock was sent, with a strong force of British regulars and colonial militia, to capture Fort Duquesne, but was caught in an ambush and slain with many of his men. Indeed, Washington and his Virginians alone saved the army from complete destruction. In the north the French captured Oswego, and the torch of their Indian allies enveloped the frontiers with fire.

In his measures of administration, Dinwiddie, though prudent and wise, was not as tactful as Gooch, and consequently was embroiled much of the time with his council and general assembly, who always respected his character but often condemned his conduct.

In October, 1755, died William Stith, who had written a history of Virginia and was serving, at the time of his death, as president of the college. In June, 1756, Benjamin Franklin visited Williamsburg, and the college conferred upon him the degree of master of arts.

In Dinwiddie's time, also, several additions were made to the city limits. In 1756 there was annexed a considerable parcel of land, belonging to Benjamin Waller, at the east end of the town; and, in 1758, another parcel, of seventeen acres and twenty-six poles, formerly belonging to Col. Philip Johnson, adjoining the southern bounds, was added. In 1759, two other tracts were taken in—one of twelve lots belonging to Matthew Moody, on the west side of the road leading to the capitol landing, and the other a piece of land belonging to Benjamin Waller, on the south side of the road leading to Yorktown.

Governor Dinwiddie was relieved from the post of governor

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ROBERT DINWIDDIE,
Governor of Virginia.

John Blair

AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN BLAIR.

Fran: Fauquier

AUTOGRAPH OF FRANCIS FAUQUIER,
Governor of Virginia.

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of Virginia at his own request, and sailed for England in January, 1758, after receiving testimonials of regard from the council and the municipal authorities. The library of William and Mary College, until its destruction by fire in 1859, preserved several books presented by him, each marked with his book-plate.

After his departure, Hon. John Blair, president of the council, served as acting-governor for a few months, when he was superseded by Francis Fauquier, who arrived June 17, 1758, from England, with a commission of lieutenant-governor.[14] In spite of his rather peppery temper, he was nearly everything that could be wished for in a royal governor. He was generous and liberal in his manners, and as a fellow of the Royal Society of England, he had a scholarly character and fine literary taste. His influence and example gave a decided stimulus to business, to the cultivation of literature, and to the spread of the arts and sciences, so that the period of his stay may not be inaptly termed the "golden age" of colonial Virginia. Shortly after his coming, an expedition, under General Forbes, captured Fort Duquesne, and after that the war with France took the turn of uninterrupted English success; and there was, in consequence, more gaiety than ever in Williamsburg, at the theatre as well as in private houses, where dancing parties and musical entertainments were very frequent.

[14] Francis Fauquier was the eldest son of Dr. John Francis Fauquier and Elizabeth Chamberlayne, his wife. He was born in 1704, made a director in the South Sea Company in 1751, and a fellow of the Royal Society on February 15, 1753. He married Catherine, daughter of Sir Charles Dalton, who was buried at Totteridge in 1781. He wrote an essay on "The Ways and Means of Raising Money for the Support of the Present War Without Increasing the Public Debt" (8vo.), published at London in 1757. In January, 1758, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Virginia. In 1760, Mr. Pitt wrote to Fauquier that when the war with the French was over, Parliament would tax the Colonies. Fauquier, in reply, expressed great apprehensions. Fauquier was still governor when the stamp act passed, and that measure was excessively distasteful to him; but Henry's resolutions went too far for him, and received his censure. He died in Virginia March 3, 1768.—*William and Mary Coll. Quart.*, Vol. VIII., No. 3, pages 171-177.

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Washington, at the head of the Virginia troops, had greatly distinguished himself in the war, and upon his return to Williamsburg, in 1758, a vote of thanks was extended to him by the general assembly. As soon as he took his seat in the capitol, the speaker, John Robinson, addressed him, in the name of the house of burgesses, in such glowing terms as quite overwhelmed him. Washington rose to express his acknowledgments, but blushed and faltered, when the speaker relieved him from his embarrassment by saying: "Sit down, Mr. Washington, your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess."

In February, 1759, a society for the promotion of manufactures was formed, who were authorized by the general assembly to offer bounties for discoveries and improvements. As large sums were drained from the colony for foreign wines and silks, this body offered £500 as a premium to any person who should, in any twelve months within eight years, make the ten best hogshead of wine; and there was a second prize of £100 for the second best sample.

During the same year, Rev. Andrew Burnaby visited Williamsburg, and he has left a record of his impressions of the place. The streets were not paved, and consequently, were very dusty; the capitol and college were "far from magnificent;" the governor's house was only "tolerable," though he admitted it to be the "best on the continent;" and the church, the prison, and the other public edifices were, all of them, "extremely indifferent." As to the houses, "they were generally indifferently built," and were principally of wood, covered with shingles. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, the town made a "handsome appearance," and seemed a "desirable place of residence." Burnaby observed that the situation of Williamsburg had the advantage, which few or no places in Eastern Virginia had, of being wholly free from mosquitoes. He also said that, besides the merchants and tradesmen, there were ten or twelve gentlemen's families constantly residing in the place. He estimated the population at 1,000.

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Cradle of Revolution.

The year 1763 was memorable for the famous "Parson's Cause," which afforded the genius of Patrick Henry its first opportunity for glory. In a suit brought in Hanover County against his vestry, by Rev. James Maury, for damages on account of the "Two Penny Act," Patrick Henry, as counsel for the defendants, denounced the king in such impassioned language that he was interrupted with a cry of "treason" from Mr. Peter Lyons, the attorney on the other side. Nevertheless, the jury, in less than five minutes, returned a verdict of one penny damages, equivalent to a dismissal of the suit. The speech of Henry was looked upon as asserting supreme authority in the provincial legislature, and the verdict of the jury paved the way to the resolutions of the legislature on the stamp act passed two years later. As to Governor Fauquier, his sympathies were against the clergy, and he gave them to understand that, law or no law, he was unequivocally on the popular side.

Another circumstance distinguishing the year 1763 was the termination of the war with the French and Indians. France lost all her possessions on this continent, as well as extensive holdings in the West Indies and Asia; but out of this triumph of the English were to grow domestic difficulties, which, in a measure, revenged France for her misfortunes. To assist in paying the expenses of the war, the British parliament proposed that no writing in the colonies should be held valid until a stamp was purchased and placed upon it. Massachusetts led the way in protesting against the enactment of such a law, and the other colonies, including Virginia, followed suit, but parliament paid no attention, and passed the bill. Then it appeared as if no resistance would be made to the execution of the act, and in Massachusetts, the foremost patriot, Samuel Adams, did nothing more than propose a convention of the colonies for consultation, while James Otis, her distinguished orator, declared resistance "treason." It was a supreme moment, and Virginia sprang to the front and saved the day. On May 30, 1765, Patrick Henry offered in the house of burgesses a series

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DUKE OF GLOUCESTER STREET.

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of resolutions, which declared that the stamp act violated the principle held dear from the infancy of the colony that no taxes or impositions could be laid upon the inhabitants of Virginia, except by the general assembly. In the stormy debate which followed, resulting in the adoption of the resolutions, Mr. Henry electrified the house with a speech, which contained these inspiring words: "Tarquin and Cæsar had each his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III."—and here he was interrupted by the cry of "treason"—"may profit by their example; *if this be treason, make the most of it.*" "This is the way," says Bancroft, "that the fire began; Virginia rang the alarm bell for the continent."

The action of Virginia created a tremendous sensation, and after this, opposition to the stamp act blazed out in all parts of America. When, in the last week of October, 1765, George Mercer, distributor of the stamps for Virginia, arrived in Williamsburg, a crowd gathered and demanded whether or not he intended to enter on the duties of his office. Mercer asked for time, but promised to give reply at five o'clock the next evening. In the interim he conferred with the governor and the council, and at the hour appointed he met at the capitol a large concourse of the people, including the principal merchants of the colony, and agreed not to undertake the execution of the stamp act until he received further orders from England, nor then, without the consent of the general assembly of Virginia. He was immediately borne out of the capitol gate amid loud applause, and carried to the Raleigh Tavern, where he was welcomed with renewed acclamation, and with the noise of drums, French horns, and other instruments of the kind, and given an elegant entertainment. At night the bells of the capitol, the church and the college were rung, and the city was illuminated.

The following year (1766) there was published in Williamsburg a remarkable pamphlet, written by Richard Bland, formerly a student of the college, which took the ground that Virginia was no part of the kingdom of England, but only united to it by the tie of the crown. While this was not a new doctrine in Virginia, the pamphlet contained the first formal annunciation of it on the continent.

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A Page from the College Faculty Book,
Showing autographs of Dr. James Blair and other Professors.

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During this year, also, was established in Williamsburg by William Rind a second *Virginia Gazette,* intended as an opposition paper, as the other, Hunter's, was deemed by some of the patriots as too much under government control.

A change of government in England from the Grenville ministry, who originated the stamp act, to that of Lord Rockingham, a conservative, and the impossibility recognized by the latter of enforcing the measure, brought about its repeal by parliament on March 17, 1766. When the news reached Virginia, the demonstration of joy in Williamsburg far exceeded that which celebrated Mercer's resignation. When the general assembly met in November, 1766, the question of raising a statue to King George III., and an obelisk to Barré, Pitt, Conway, Burke and other prominent English statesmen, who had defended in the British parliament the rights of the American colonies, was discussed, but no final action was taken.

Governor Fauquier's devotion to scientific studies inspired him with an aversion to dogmas of all kinds—religious or governmental—and he strongly disapproved the stamp act. His favorite companions were Dr. William Small, professor of natural philosophy at the college; and George Wythe, the eminent lawyer and scientist; and at his table the youthful Jefferson, Page, Walker, McClurg and other students of the college learned their lessons in the rights of man. His example in another respect was not so fortunate; he was addicted to playing cards, and diffused in the colony a passion for gaming, which continued until sternly rebuked by the revolutionary spirit expressed in the orders of the county committees about 1775.

Though they repealed the stamp act, the British parliament, in 1767, under the lead of Lord Townshend, laid a duty on glass, painter's colors, paper and tea, to take effect in the autumn. As a consequence, fresh agitations arose. The Massachusetts assembly, ever vigilant in the cause of liberty, in January, 1768, petitioned the English government against the new law, and addressed a circular letter to the other colonies, inviting co-operation and mutual consultation. Not long after,

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A PAGE FROM THE COLLEGE FACULTY BOOK,
Showing the autographs of William Small and other Professors.

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Governor Fauquier, who sympathized with the colonists, died in Williamsburg, March 3, 1768, in his 65th year.

His body was interred, after an imposing funeral, in the north aisle of Bruton parish church; and, in the issue of the *Gazette* for March 10, 1768, an admirer of the deceased expressed the general grief in some verses, in which the following lines appear:

> If ever virtue lost a friend sincere,
> If ever sorrow claimed Virginia's tear,
> If ever death a noble conquest made,
> 'Twas when Fauquier the debt of nature paid.

His death devolved the government, for the second time, upon John Blair, president of the council, and on March 31, 1768, the general assembly, called by Fauquier, met in Williamsburg, and adopted protests and memorials to the English government, penned in even a bolder style than those from Massachusetts.

The British ministry quailed before the united opposition of the two most powerful American colonies, and it was resolved to disunite them, if possible, by over-awing Massachusetts with soldiers and armed ships, and placating Virginia with new dignities. Accordingly, two regiments were ordered from Halifax to Boston, and Bernard, the governor of Massachusetts, in compliance with directions received from England, called upon the Massachusetts assembly in July, 1768, to rescind their circular of January preceding; but they refused to comply; and a convention of delegates from the Massachusetts towns in September addressed a petition to the king, the chief purpose of which was to defend the colony from the imputation of a rebellious spirit.

Since the days of Lord Howard, of Effingham, the chief executive sent from England to Virginia, had enjoyed only the title and pay of lieutenant-governor, while some person in England, who never saw Virginia, drew the full salary, and called himself governor. It was determined by the English ministry to flatter the colony by sending over, in the future, a man who should have both full honor and full pay. Norborne Berkeley,

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Baron de Botetourt,[15] was selected, and sailed in a 74, taking with him a coach of state, presented to him by the Duke of Cumberland, the king's uncle.[16] On October 21, 1768, Botetourt arrived in Hampton Roads, and next morning landed at "Little England," on Hampton River, where he was received with a salute from the cannon on shore. The same day at noon, he set out for Williamsburg, and, as the sun went down, arrived at the city, where he was honored with the usual welcome ceremonies. He was met at the entrance of Williamsburg by the councillors and other gentlemen of distinction, who conducted him to the council chamber in the capitol, where he read his commission as governor, and took the oath required by law, after which they all repaired to the Raleigh Tavern and sat down to an elegant supper. That night the city was brilliantly illuminated in his honor, and in the succeeding *Gazette* an ode was published, from which the following is an extract:

Virginia, see thy Governor appears!
The peaceful olive on his brow he wears!
Sound the shrill trumpets, beat the rattling drums;
From Great Britannia's isle his Lordship comes.
Bid Echo from the waving woods arise,
And joyful acclamations reach the skies;
Let the loud organs join their tuneful roar,
And bellowing cannons rend the pebbled shore:
Bid smooth James River catch the cheerful sound,
And roll it to Virginia's utmost bound;
While Rappahannock and York's gliding stream,
Swift shall convey the sweetly pleasing theme
To distant plains, where pond'rous mountains rise,
Whose cloud-capp'd verges meet the bending skies.
The Lordly prize the Atlantic waves resign,
And now, Virginia, now the blessing's thine:
His listening ears will to your trust attend,
And be your GUARDIAN, GOVERNOR AND FRIEND.

[15] Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, son of John Symes Berkeley, was born in 1718; in 1761 was colonel of the North Gloucestershire militia; represented the shire in Parliament; and in 1764 was raised to the peerage; appointed governor of Virginia in July, 1768, and died in that office October 15, 1770. He was buried in a vault underneath the floor of the college chapel.

[16] *William and Mary Coll. Quart.*, XIII., 87.

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In December, 1768, a new parliament convened in London, and considered all the papers relating to the colonies, and particularly the recent proceedings in Massachusetts. The house of lords denounced the convention held at Boston in September, and petitioned the king to cause the principal actors in that province to be brought to England to be tried for treason. In Virginia, a new assembly was called by Botetourt, to meet May 11, 1769, and, when it convened, the insignia of royalty were displayed with unusual pomp. Botetourt was an amiable and attractive man, and soon after his arrival he made himself very popular by concurring with the council in refusing to issue writs of assistance for the enforcement of the navigation act. For this reason, a large crowd was present at the opening of the assembly, which was one of unusual interest.

The governor, attended by a numerous retinue of guards, rode from the palace to the capitol in his superbly furnished state coach, drawn by six milk-white horses. He was dressed after the fashion of the day, in a very handsome, rich costume; and his coat, which was of a light red color, was heavy with gold thread tissue. He made a rather long speech to the burgesses in the council chamber, enunciating very slowly and with frequent pauses; and it is said by those who had heard George III. speak from the throne of England, that his lordship, on the throne of Virginia, conducted himself very much like the king.[17] He considered it, he said, a peculiar felicity to announce his majesty's gracious intention "that, for the future, his chief governors of Virginia shall reside within their governments." During the ten days' sitting of the assembly, the time of the members was chiefly taken up in debate upon the important subject of colonial rights, and terminated in a number of spirited resolves, directed especially against the policy of sending Americans to England to be tried.

The governor received a hint of what was going on, and sent Nathaniel Walthoe, his secretary, to find out the facts from the journal; but George Wythe, the clerk, delayed him long enough for the house to get its resolutions in shape and pass

[17] *William and Mary Coll. Quart.*, XIII., 87.

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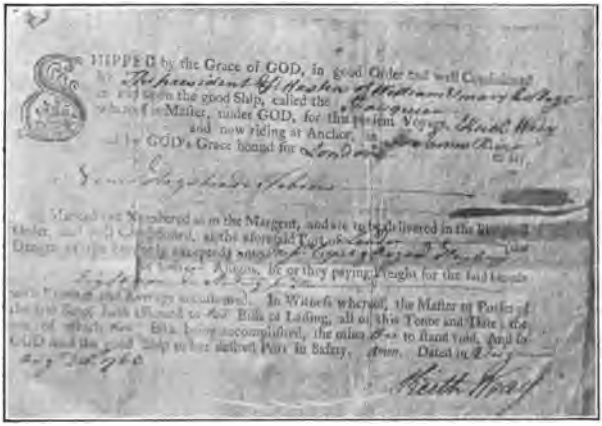
SHIPPED by the Grace of GOD, in good Order and well Conditioned
upon the good Ship, called the
Master, under GOD, for this present Voyage
and now riding at Anchor, in
GOD's Grace bound for London
Marked and Numbered as in the Margent, and are to be delivered in the like good
Order, and well Conditioned, at the aforesaid Port of
he or they paying Freight for the said Goods
In Witness whereof, the Master or Purser of
Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the
accomplished, the other to stand void. And so
GOD and the good Ship to her desired Port in Safety. Amen. Dated in

Shipping Receipt

On account of the College.

them. At length, the action of the house could no longer be concealed, and the governor summoned the burgesses to his presence in the council chamber. The burgesses obeyed, and found his excellency awaiting them, dressed in a suit of plain scarlet. The speaker, Peyton Randolph, in the lead, the members following, advanced towards the representative of majesty, but stopped at the distance usual on such occasions. A solemn pause of a moment or two ensued, when the governor, assuming a stern countenance, said with considerable power of voice: "Gentlemen, I have heard of your resolves, and I augur ill of their effect. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

The effect of resolves passed by Virginia at this time was immense, and the press teemed with her praise. Delaware, and every colony south of Virginia, adopted a similar set of resolves, and even Pennsylvania was aroused from her slumbers to express, through her merchants, her approval of what had been done. Thus Virginia led the way and united the colonies in resisting British encroachments on their *rights of person,* as she had done on their *rights of property.*

Immediately after a dissolution of the assembly by Botetourt, the members met in the long room of the Raleigh Tavern, called Apollo, and signed an agreement, presented by Washington, but drawn by George Mason, pledging themselves to encourage industry, and not to import or buy any articles which were taxed by parliament. Some of the other colonies had already entered into similar agreements, and the endorsement of Virginia caused all the rest to join the movement. Homespun clothes became fashionable, and manufactures were encouraged.

But the heart of Botetourt beat really in unison with the colonists, and when, not long after he received assurances from the Earl of Hillsbrough, the British secretary of state, that it was the intention of the English government not to propose any further taxes, but, on the contrary, to secure a repeal of the duties already imposed, he made haste to call a new assembly to meet in November, in order to inform them officially of the joyous news.

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In October, 1769, Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon, president of the newly founded college at Princeton, New Jersey, visited the city in the interest of his institution. It is stated in the *Virginia Gazette* that such enthusiasm was felt by the people in his objects that no building in Williamsburg, not even the capitol, could hold the crowd that pressed to hear him speak. He, therefore, made his address in the capitol yard, and collected from the audience upwards of sixty-six pounds, to which the generous Botetourt added fifty pounds on his own account. A similar spirit of liberality had at other times been shown by the citizens of Williamsburg—in 1751, when Rev. Thomas Bacon came from Talbot County, Maryland, to raise funds for his industrial school, and, again in 1765, when Montreal was destroyed by a fire, and made an appeal for aid.

When the general assembly convened a month after Dr. Witherspoon's visit, Botetourt, in conveying to them the intelligence from England, added his own personal pledge that he would be content to be "declared infamous, if he did not, to the last hour of his life, at all times and in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power with which he was or ever should be legally invested, to obtain and maintain for the continent of America that satisfaction which he had been authorized to promise that day." The burgesses received this speech with much applause, and began the work of the session with an ardor of which the code bears evidence. On December 21, they adjourned, and met again to conclude their work May 21, 1770, remaining in session till June 28, 1770.

Among their enactments there are three which challenge the attention. One appointed commissioners to purchase one hundred acres of land near Williamsburg, for a purpose similar to that entertained by the London Company a century and a half before. Then the London Company settled Anthony Bonell and his Frenchmen at Buckroe, in Elizabeth City County, for the purpose of instructing the colonists in the art of raising silk worms and cultivating grapes. Now Andrew Esclave, a Frenchman, an expert in the wine culture, was granted the use of some land near Williamsburg, to establish a

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vineyard, to serve as an object lesson to the planters. This vineyard, as afterwards laid out, was on the road to Yorktown, a mile east of the town, near Fort Magruder, where occurred, in 1862, one of the fiercest battles of the war between the States of the Union. Esclave boasted in the newspapers of his success, but the war of the Revolution put a stop to his labors; and, in 1784, the land was given, by the general assembly, to the college of William and Mary. The college disposed of it in 1791, and the deed of the president and faculty is recorded in the clerk's office at Yorktown. The land still goes by its ancient name of the Vineyard land.

The second of the enactments provided for the establishment of a hospital for persons of disordered minds, recommended by Governor Fauquier in 1766, and the first of its kind established in the United States. The third measure sanctioned an agreement of the county of James City and the city of Williamsburg to erect, at their joint expense, a court-house on the market square in said city.

The English authorities were so far from respecting the assurances given to Botetourt that, though they repealed the taxes on glass and other articles, they retained the taxes on tea, which was a great disappointment to the colonists. As we have already noticed, the merchants of Virginia, who, being the moneyed men of the colony, had always an importance in society, had an organization amongst themselves called the "cape company." At the annual meetings in Williamsburg usually only a few came together, but now the perverse course of the British ministry brought to Williamsburg, on June 22, 1770, a large convention. They elected Andrew Sprowle, of Norfolk, chairman, and he and his associates joined with the gentlemen of the house of burgesses in an association against importing any manufactures from Great Britain, or *any slaves from anywhere,* and against using any tea, until the obnoxious laws of parliament were repealed. Nor was the action of the British ministry less keenly felt by Botetourt. Finding himself deceived, he demanded his recall, but not long after he fell sick of bilious fever, which, aggravated by chagrin and disappointment, soon reached a fatal termination.

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Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt.

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There is a story of his last hours, which conveys a touching lesson. He had an intimate friend in the pure-minded and deeply-pious Robert Carter Nicholas, treasurer of the colony, who, in one of his familiar visits to the palace not long before his fatal sickness, had observed that "he (Botetourt) ought to be very unwilling to die." "Why so?" asked his lordship. "Because you are so social in your nature," said Nicholas, "and so much beloved, and you have so many good things about you that you must be loth to leave them." His lordship smiled, and made, at the time, no reply, but when taken with this last illness, sent a request in haste for Nicholas, who lived near the palace. Nicholas entered the chamber of his dying friend and asked his commands. "I have sent for you," said Botetourt, "merely to let you see that I resign those good things of which you formerly spoke with as much composure as I enjoyed them."

His death, which took place on October 15, 1770, was deeply lamented throughout the colony. The funeral ceremonies were very elaborate, and the cost aggregated £700 sterling. All the leading men of the colony attended, and the long procession was headed by mourners, who carried in their hands staffs draped in black. His remains, encased in three coffins, one of them a leaden coffin, heavily ornamented with silver, were deposited, according to his request, under the floor of the chapel of William and Mary College, and the general assembly voted a large sum of money to erect a marble statue to his memory. This statue was made in London in 1773, by Richard Hayward, and stood for many years in front of the old capitol building. When the seat of government was removed to Richmond, it was suffered for some years, to remain in its place, where it met with defacement and mutilation at the hands of the boys of Williamsburg, whose revolutionary spirit resented everything suggestive of royalty. At length, in 1797, it was removed to the front of the college, where it still stands in a rather shattered condition as a sort of guardian genius to the institution.

The patron of learning, Lord Botetourt, gave to the college during his life-time a sum of money, the interest of which was

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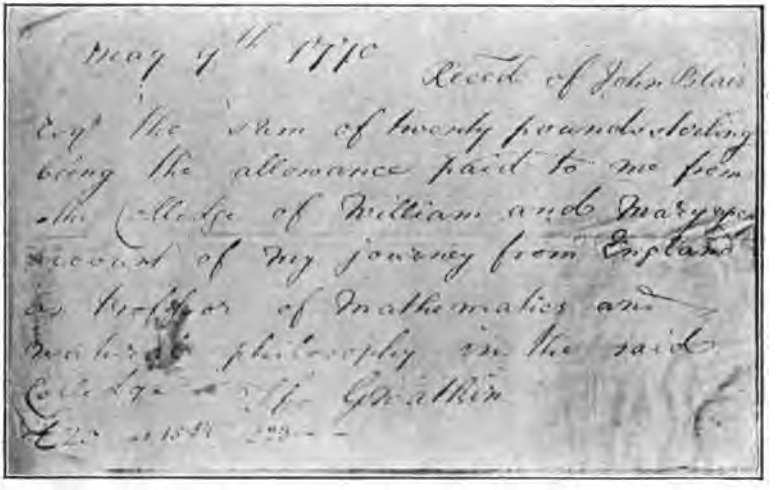

May 9th 1770 Recd of John Blair
Esqr the sum of twenty pounds sterling
being the allowance paid to me from
the Colledge of William and Mary upon
account of my journey from England
as Professor of Mathematics and
natural philosophy in the said
Colledge — Tho Gwatkin
£20 — 1548 — 223 — —

RECEIPT OF REV. THOMAS GWATKIN.

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sufficient to purchase annually two gold medals, to be given—one to the best classical scholar, and the other to the best scholar in natural philosophy and mathematics. By the order of his nephew and executor, the Duke of Beaufort, all of his effects in Virginia were sold, except the state coach and the king's and queen's portraits, which were presented to the council of Virginia, for the use of the succeeding governor. The death of Botetourt devolved the government for the third time on John Blair, who resigned because of his health, and thereupon William Nelson, succeeding him as president of the council, was chief executive for nearly a year.

On Tuesday, November 3, 1771, died Hon. John Blair, nephew of Dr. James Blair, and late president of the council. He had served twice as acting governor of Virginia, and his ability, vigilance and industry were signally displayed in his long life of 84 years.

Not long before, some zealous churchmen in New York and New Jersey started an agitation for an American Episcopacy, and Rev. James Horrocks, the commissary in Virginia, called a convention of the clergy. A few ministers met at the college June 4, 1771, and adopted a resolution, by a small majority, to join in a petition to the king for the establishment. John Camm, professor of divinity, was the chief agitator, and he was warmly opposed by Rev. Samuel Henley and Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, two other professors in the college, and by two clergymen among the generality, Rev. Richard Hewitt and Rev. William Bland.

The proposition created a great stir, not in Williamsburg only, whose citizens were much opposed to it, but in all other parts of the colony, and in the sister colonies as well. A war of pamphlets and newspaper articles ensued; and, when the assembly met July 11, 1771, the thanks of the house of burgesses was extended to Messrs. Henley and Gwatkin, through Richard Henry Lee and Richard Bland, for their "wise and well-timed opposition." The majority of the clergy in Virginia were opposed to the bishoprick, and nothing came out of the movement.

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In the fall of this year arrived in Williamsburg as governor-in-chief John Murray, Earl of Dunmore,[18] a Scotch nobleman and a peer of the realm. He was a contrast in every way to the courtly and intelligent Botetourt; for, if we are to believe the reports which have come down to us, he was coarse in his manners and mediocre in his intellect. He was, nevertheless, welcomed to the city with the customary honors, and installed in the palace with much ceremony. Not long after his arrival, he called a session of the assembly for February 10, 1772, and one of the noteworthy acts of this session was the adoption of a new petition to the king to stop the slave trade, being the last of many appeals which they addressed to him on that subject. In this petition they besought the king to remove all those restraints which inhibited the governors of the colonies from assenting to "such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce." They spoke of the importation of slaves as a trade "of great inhumanity," and one calculated to endanger "the very existence of your majesty's American dominions." In addition to this, various bills for opening and extending internal navigation were passed, and among them was one for cutting a canal from Archer's Hope Creek, through or near the city of Williamsburg, into Queen's Creek, for boats and other vessels of burden. The sum of £5,000 sterling was subscribed before the assembly adjourned, which spoke well for the people. No actual work was done on the canal, as the money was soon needed for objects of a more pressing character.

May 27, 1772, died Thomas Hornsby, a prominent merchant of Williamsburg, born in Lincolnshire, England; and November 19, 1772, died in Yorktown, Honorable William

[18] John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, was born in 1732, and was descended in the female line from the royal house of Stuart, and succeeded to the peerage in 1756; appointed governor of New York in January, 1770, and of Virginia in July, 1771; he returned to England in 1776, and in 1786 was appointed governor of Bermuda. He died at Ramsgate, England, in May, 1809. He was a man of culture, and had a large library. He has been severely abused by American writers, but his friends warmly attest his kindness and generosity.

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Nelson, father of General Thomas Nelson of the American Revolution. He was long a member of the council, and often its presiding officer.

The horizon was again darkened by gathering clouds. A British armed revenue vessel having been burnt in Narragansett Bay, a new act of parliament punished such offenses with death, and required the accused to be transported to England for trial. There was a great deal of indignation in Virginia against the act, and when the assembly came together again, March 4, of the next year (1773), measures were promptly taken to bring about a more combined action on the part of the colonies. Dabney Carr, of Louisa, a brilliant young statesman, moved a series of resolutions for the appointment of a committee to correspond in regard to colonial affairs with similar committees to be appointed by the other colonies. Richard Henry Lee was the draftsman of the resolutions, and Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and several other great Virginians, supported the measure; and it passed unanimously, being thus the first step taken in America to a union of the colonies. Like the resolutions of 1769, they exerted an immense effect on political conditions. The resolves were sent to the other colonies, and, in accordance with the suggestions, a committee was appointed in each.

The effect of the interdictions against British commerce was to promote manufactures in Virginia and encourage home production. In 1769 at a ball given to Lord Botetourt at the capitol, soon after his arrival, more than one hundred ladies appeared in homespun dresses. In 1770 William Nelson, president of the council, wrote[19] to Samuel Athawes, a prominent merchant of London, that he wore a good suit of clothes manufactured, as well as his shirts, in Albemarle, and that his shoes, hose, buckles, wig and hat were made in his own country; "and in these," he said, "we improve every year in quantity as well as in quality." Williamsburg participated in the industrial movement; and a joint stock company built a factory for making woolen and linen cloth on the north side of Queen's Creek,

[19] *William and Mary Coll. Quart.*, VII., 26.

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opposite to Queen Mary's Port; and of this company Peyton Randolph was president and John Crawford factory manager. Then, on the edge of the town, on the road going to Queen's Creek, was a tannery kept by William Pearson, the lot on which it stood being still known as the tan-yard lot. In the town itself there was a carriage factory, a factory for making wigs, and a snuff mill. It is believed that the paper factory erected by Parks in 1744 still continued on the branch of Archer's Hope Creek.

The trades and professions were represented by men of ability and fine character. Among the store-keepers were John Blair, Jr., James Tarpley, Alexander Craig, William Prentis, Robert Nicholson and Benjamin Powell; among the jewellers and goldsmiths, James Geddy, Samuel Coke, James Craig and James Galt; among the lawyers, Benjamin Waller, Thomas Everard, Robert Carter Nicholas, George Wythe, John Randolph, and John Tazewell; and among the doctors, George Riddell, Peter Hay, John Minson Galt, John Sequeyra and William Pasteur. Dr. Galt was afterwards surgeon-general of the United States in the war of the Revolution, and Dr. Sequeyra was first physician to the hospital for persons of disordered mind. The ordinary keepers were, at this time, important men, and James Barret Southall had succeeded Anthony Hay in control of the Raleigh Tavern. Schools were numerous, and the Indian school at the college, the grammar school, the Mattey free school adjoining the tannery of William Pearson on Queen Mary's road, and Curtis' free school on Queen Street, near the old James City court-house, provided elementary education. Then, there was Miss Hallam's fashionable school for young ladies. There was also a school in the town, which taught the free negro children to read and write.

Increasing interest was felt in scientific studies, and there was organized in Williamsburg in May, 1773, "a Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge," which continued for quite a number of years after the Revolution. The first officers of this society were: John Clayton, of "Windsor," the botanist, president; John Page, of "Rosewell," vice-president; Rev.

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Samuel Henley, professor of moral philosophy in the college, secretary; St. George Tucker, (son of Henry Tucker, formerly secretary of state of the Bermuda Islands,) assistant-secretary, and David Jameson, of Yorktown, treasurer. John Page, Esq., the vice-president, calculated at his home in Gloucester County, an eclipse of the sun, and published his work in the newspapers, from which account he was named by his neighbor, Major John Robinson, the "John Partridge," of Virginia, after the noted almanac maker in England.

Some improvement was made in the city administration, and, as fires were frequent, fire engines were procured, and four watchmen were appointed to take care of them, and to patrol the streets after ten o'clock and cry the hours. A race course adjoined the west end of the town, permitting heats of either two or three miles; and races were held twice a year, and were commonly continued for a week at a time. The purses amounted to a hundred pounds each for the first day's running, and fifty pounds each for every day thereafter. There were also matches and sweepstakes for very considerable sums. The stock of horses was derived from English and Arabian thoroughbreds. To these races people came in great numbers from remote parts of the colony.

An English traveller, J. F. D. Smythe, describes the capitol, in 1773, as "an elegant building," the college as "an old monastic structure," and the governor's residence "as large, commodious, and handsome." The generality of the houses, he said, were of wood, painted white, every one detached from the other. There were no shade trees along the side-walks, and the streets were deep with white sand[20] "wherein every step was almost above the shoe." He remarks upon the absence of mosquitoes, and speaks of dining very agreeably at the Raleigh Tavern, where he drank exceeding good Madeira. The population of the place was estimated at about 1,800 people.

In August, 1773, died in Williamsburg, John Tyler, who had long held the position of marshal of the vice admiralty

[20] As this itinerant visited Williamsburg in the summer, he doubtless mistook "dust" for "sand." The soil is not sandy.

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court. He was father of John Tyler, speaker of the house of delegates from 1781 to 1785, and governor of Virginia from 1808 to 1811, and grandfather of John Tyler, president of the United States from 1841 to 1845.

Meanwhile, important events had taken place in England. The refusal of the colonies to buy tea exported from England had greatly embarrassed the East India Company, and caused an accumulation in their ware-houses of that commodity, for which they had no market. On April 27, 1773, Lord North proposed that the company be allowed to export their tea to America free of all duties collectible in England, and only subject to the duty of three pence per pound, collectible in the colonies. After the proposal became a law, the East India Company began to ship cargoes of tea to Boston, Charleston, New York and Philadelphia, supposing that the Americans would not decline to buy the tea at the cheap rates at which it was sold by reason of the repeal of the English duty. The consignees at all four ports, except Boston, declined to receive the tea and resigned. At Boston alone the consignee held to his commission, and thereby precipitated a crisis. On the night of December 16, 1773, a band of men, disguised as Indians, boarded the vessels, cut open the tea chests, and threw the entire cargo overboard.

Upon learning of this proceeding, the English government was greatly enraged; and Boston was made to suffer for the deed of irresponsible persons. On March 14, 1774, Lord North asked leave to bring in a bill to close the port of Boston, to go into effect June 1; and it passed without division, although eloquent protests were uttered by the Earl of Chatham, Burke, Sawbridge and Dowdeswell.

In April, 1774, arrived in Williamsburg Lady Dunmore and her children, George, Lord Fincastle, the Honorables Alexander and John Murray, and the Ladies Catherine, Augusta and Susan Murray. They were welcomed with an illumination of the city, and the three young noblemen were put to school at the college. The late measure of Parliament was as yet unknown in Virginia, and the feeling of loyalty still predominated with all classes.

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When the assembly met in May, 1774, Williamsburg presented a scene of unwonted gaiety, and a court herald published a code of etiquette for the regulation of the society of the little metropolis. There were balls, dancing assemblies, theatricals, and a large concourse of people from the country. George Washington arrived and dined with Lord Dunmore.

The scene, however, changed as soon as the news of the act of parliament with reference to the closing of the port of Boston reached the city. Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, R. H. Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee and three or four other gentlemen drew up a resolution, which they persuaded Robert Carter Nicholas to offer, denouncing the action of the British government and setting apart the first day of June on which the port bill was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer throughout the colony. These resolves were printed in the *Virginia Gazette* of May 26, and on seeing them Lord Dunmore ordered the house immediately that day to come upstairs to the council chamber, where he addressed them in the following language: "Mr. speaker and gentlemen of the house of burgesses, I have in my hand a paper published by order of your house, conceived in such terms as to reflect highly upon his majesty and the parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary for me to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

The members, thereupon, left the capitol, and next day (May 27) gathered together in the Apollo Hall at the Raleigh Tavern, where they formed an association not to purchase or use any kind of commodity imported by the East India Company except saltpetre and spices; and in this agreement they were joined by a number of clergymen and other inhabitants of the colony.[21] At the same meeting, an annual congress, to be composed of deputies from the different colonies, was recommended. By this act Virginia maintained herself at the front of the Revolutionary movement; for, although, unknown to our patriots in Williamsburg, the suggestion of a congress was made in advance during the same month by the "Sons of Lib-

[21] The number of associators was 89.

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erty" of New York, by a town meeting in Providence, and by the New York and Philadelphia committees of correspondence, this was the first call for a continental congress by an organized legislative body presided over by a speaker, and assuming to speak officially for a whole colony. It was the glory of Virginia that her burgesses took the lead in calling not only a congress, but "an annual congress" of the colonies, involving a permanent union. The action was decisive, and the assembly of Rhode Island followed her example June 15, and that of Massachusetts June 17. But Virginia went a step further, when, on May 29, the Philadelphia letter containing the suggestion for a general congress reached Williamsburg. The speaker called all the legislators that remained in the city, some twenty-five in number, and they adopted a resolve, summoning the *first Virginia Convention*, which met in Williamsburg on August 1, 1774.

June 15, 1774, the "Society for the Advancement of Useful Knowledge" held its second session in Williamsburg. As John Clayton had died in the interval, his place as president was filled by John Page, of "Rosewell." George Wythe was made vice-president; James Madison, (professor of natural philosophy and mathematics in the college), and Rev. Robert Andrews, of Yorktown, secretaries; David Jameson, treasurer; and James Madison, curator. They held their meetings in the capitol, and several valuable philosophical papers were read. John Hobday, of Gloucester County, was voted a pecuniary reward and medal for his model of a very ingenious and useful machine for threshing wheat. Dr. Franklin, Dr. Lettsom, of London, Rev. Thomas Baldwin, John Baldwin, Esq., of Chester, England, Dr. Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, Dr. Morgan, Dr. Rush and Mr. Rittenhouse, of the same city, Edward Foy, the governor's secretary, Dr. Steward, of Bladensburg, Maryland, and Dr. Smibert, of Boston, were chosen corresponding members.[22]

[22] After this time there are but few notices of this society, though it appeared to have kept up an organization of some sort for many years. Among the letters of Jefferson is one in 1787 in answer to John Page,

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The convention of delegates from the colony at large met, according to appointment, on August 1, in the city of Williamsburg, and appointed deputies, with Peyton Randolph, of Williamsburg, at their head, to attend the general congress at Philadelphia in September. The members of this convention agreed, in behalf of the colony, to purchase nothing, except medicine, imported from Great Britain, after November 1; to *buy no slaves imported from any place whatever,* and to use no more tea. It was further agreed that, unless American grievances were redressed before August 10, 1775, they would export no more tobacco or any other article whatever to Great Britain.

September 14, 1774, the first general congress met in Philadelphia; Peyton Randolph, of Williamsburg, was elected president, and Patrick Henry opened the proceedings with a speech. A petition to the king was adopted, a new association against imports recommended, and the different colonies were advised to appoint committees in every town and county to see that its provisions were carried out.

Meanwhile, an Indian war had broken out on the frontiers, and in September, 1775, Lord Dunmore left Williamsburg for the scene of action. On October 10, the Virginians, under the command of General Andrew Lewis, met the Shawnees and their confederates at Point Pleasant, on the Ohio River, and, after an obstinate battle, defeated them. Soon after Lord Dunmore made peace with the Indians, and returned to Williamsburg.

In November, Hanover County, under the lead of Patrick Henry, appointed its county committee as advised by congress, and the example was soon followed. Williamsburg elected the following gentlemen, in December, 1774, members of the city committee: Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., Benjamin Waller, James Cocke, James Southall, James Hubard, Thomas Everard, Robert Nicholson, John Minson Galt, Robert Carter

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who urged him to accept the presidency. He wrote that "he should feel himself out of his true place to stand before McClurg." Dr. James McClurg was probably president at the time.

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GOLD MEDAL PRESENTED TO JOHN HOBDAY.

AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN TYLER,
Marshal of the Vice Admiralty Court.

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Nicholas John Dixon, Benjamin Powell, George Wythe, John Tazewell and John Carter.

In the beginning of 1775 the people of Williamsburg were in anxious suspense, expecting an outbreak of civil war. They raised a large supply of provisions and clothes, and shipped it to the people of Boston, suffering for the necessities of life under the operation of the port bill. On February 7, 1775, the first number of a third *Gazette* was published by Alexander Purdie, at Williamsburg. Dunmore was regarded with suspicion, and remained in gloomy solitude in his palace, tenacious of authority, but fearful of resisting the popular will. His true course was to adopt a "do nothing" policy, but this he had not the firmness or inclination to do. February 20, parliament adopted a resolution called Lord North's "Olive Branch," pledging itself in very vague and uncertain language not to tax any colony which should raise its quota of the common expense.

March 20, 1775, the second Virginia convention assembled at Richmond, and on the 23rd, Patrick Henry introduced his famous bill for organizing the militia. In its support, he used those words which will ring through ages to come: "Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God. I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

March 28, 1775, Dunmore issued a proclamation requiring all civil officers to do their utmost to prevent the appointment of deputies from Virginia to the continental congress, which was to assemble at Philadelphia on May 10. This proclamation, however, had no other effect than to irritate the colonists and weaken the influence of the government. But it was not long before Dunmore resorted to a procedure far more stupid and exciting.

The magazine in Williamsburg contained twenty barrels of powder and a considerable number of guns, and Lord Dunmore became apprehensive that its contents would be seized to arm the militia. The people of the town and the city volunteers

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under Captain James Innis,[23] usher of the grammar school at the college, patrolled the streets, and kept a pretty strong guard. But at length, doubting the truth of the report, they grew a little negligent; and before daybreak, on Thursday, April 20, Captain Henry Collins, with the assistance of some marines and sailors, who had been concealed at the palace, secretly carried off, in his lordship's little wagon, all the powder it would conveniently carry—about sixteen and a half barrels—to the *Magdalene* armed schooner, stationed under his command at Burwell's Ferry on James River, about six miles from Williamsburg. It was carried down to the *Fowey* man-of-war (commanded by Captain Montague), who received it and sailed with it around to Yorktown.

When intelligence of this event was noised in Williamsburg, there was great excitement, and the militia rushed to arms and could, with difficulty, be restrained by Peyton Randolph, the speaker, and Robert Carter Nicholas, the treasurer, from rushing to the palace, and seizing the person of the governor. The common hall assembled, drew up an address, and waited upon the governor in a body. Their address was presented to him by Peyton Randolph, the recorder of the city, and contained a hot remonstrance against his ill-advised action. To this Dunmore returned a verbal answer, excusing his conduct by a reported insurrection of slaves in Surry County, and pledging his honor that, whenever the powder was needed, it should be forthcoming. This reply, though not satisfactory, quieted the citizens, and was regarded as a promise to return the powder shortly.

The news of the removal of the powder spread in a very short time throughout the colony, and soon more than six hundred cavalry assembled at Fredericksburg, but, before marching to Williamsburg, they sent thither Mann Page, Jr., Esq., to enquire whether the gunpowder had been replaced in the magazine. He arrived in Williamsburg on the morning of April 27, after a ride of twenty-four hours, and left in the evening with a letter from Peyton Randolph, in behalf of the

[23] Afterwards Attorney-General of Kentucky.

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corporation, advising against any violent proceedings. Next day Mr. Randolph set out for the congress, and reached the house of Edmund Pendleton in Caroline County, from which, on Saturday, the 29th, he joined with his host in sending a second letter of similar import to Fredericksburg. The same advice was given by Washington in a letter to James Mercer, with the result that, after a long and animated discussion, the committee of 102 deputies, appointed by the troops, consented, by a majority of one only, not to go to Williamsburg. When Dunmore heard of this assembling of troops, he grew very wrathy and sent word to the mayor of Williamsburg, Dr. William Pasteur,[24] "that, if any injury was offered to himself or the officers who acted under his directions, he would proclaim liberty to the slaves and reduce Williamsburg to ashes."

The excitement was much increased by the news which arrived from Boston of the battle of Lexington, fought on April 19, the day before the removal of the powder. The messenger reached Williamsburg on the night of Friday, April 28, and on the next day after, Alexander Purdie published an extra of his *Gazette,* which was excitedly read on the streets. Its closing words were: "The sword is now drawn, and God knows when it will be sheathed."

On May 2 the council met at the palace, and discussed the situation. John Page, the youngest member, boldly advised the governor to give up the powder and arms, as necessary to restore the public tranquillity. Dunmore, enraged, struck the table with his fist, exclaiming: "Mr. Page, I am astonished at you." The other councillors, President William Nelson, John Camm (president of the college), Ralph Wormeley, Richard Corbin, Gawin Corbin and William Byrd remained silent. The

[24] Dr. William Pasteur was the son of a surgeon, Dr. Jean Pasteur, who, in 1700, came to Virginia from England in the Huguenot colony of that year. Dr. William Pasteur married Elizabeth Stith, daughter of William Stith, president of the college. He died in 1795, leaving his estate to his sister, Anne Craig, wife of Thomas Craig, and to his niece, Anne Smith, wife of Granville Smith. At this time Dr. Pasteur was partner with Dr. John Minson Galt in the practice of medicine and surgery.

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result of the meeting was the issuance of a proclamation by the governor, assuring the public that he meant no harm and promising to return the powder "as soon as the present ferment should subside." The same day the committee of Hanover County met at New Castle, and, urged by Patrick Henry, authorized him to proceed to Williamsburg with a company of troops and demand the return of the powder. Captain Henry set out at once, and was re-inforced on the way by companies from Charles City,[25] New Kent and King William. Ensign Parke Goodall, with sixteen men, was detached to "Laneville," on the Mattapony, the seat of Richard Corbin, the king's deputy-receiver-general, to demand the estimated value of the powder; but the king's money was kept then in Williamsburg, and it was learned that Colonel Corbin was in that place. Captain Henry, in the meantime, with the main body, continued his march to Williamsburg, and the news of his approach caused great excitement. Lady Dunmore and her children precipitately fled to the protection of the *Fowey* man-of-war at Yorktown, while Lord Dunmore planted cannon at the palace, armed his negro servants, and ordered up a detachment of marines from the ships. Henry, with 150 men, reached Doncastle's ordinary in New Kent, sixteen miles from Williamsburg, on the evening of May 3, and late that night, Colonel Carter Braxton, who lived at "Elsing Green," on the Pamunkey, arrived in town from Henry's camp. The alternatives presented by him were the restoration of the gun-powder or its value paid down; and, the latter being acceded to by Dunmore, Colonel Braxton returned with a bill of exchange for £320 from Richard Corbin, the receiver-general, and delivered it to Henry in his camp at sunrise of May 4. At ten o'clock of the same day, a detachment of forty sailors and marines from the *Fowey,* under Captain Stretch, arrived at the palace by way of the governor's park.

The affair of the powder being settled, Captain Henry

[25] According to a MS. letter of President John Tyler to the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, the Charles City company was commanded by his father, John Tyler, Sr.

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wrote a letter to the treasurer, Robert Carter Nicholas, offering to remove the treasury of the colony to a safer place or to send a guard for its protection. But Nicholas returned the answer that "the minds of the people of Williamsburg were perfectly quiet, and that there was now no necessity for the proposed guard." Indeed, more than one hundred of the citizens of Williamsburg patrolled the streets and guarded the treasury in the night. Upon this, Captain Henry and his men broke up camp and returned to their respective homes.

Two days later, May 6, the governor, relieved of apprehensions, issued a proclamation denouncing the outrages of "a certain Patrick Henry, of Hanover County, and a number of his deluded followers," and calling upon the people to "vindicate the constitutional authority of the government." The reply was not long in forthcoming; for addresses and resolutions approving his conduct poured in upon Mr. Henry from all parts of the colony; and when, on May 11, he set out to attend the general congress, he was honored with an escort to the Potomac River composed of young gentlemen from Hanover, King William and Caroline counties, and had to repeatedly stop on the way to receive addresses of thanks and applause.

About this time Dunmore received orders from Lord North and Lord Dartmouth, at the head of the British government, to submit the propositions called "The Olive Branch," and he issued, on May 12, a summons for a meeting of the assembly. The troops from the *Fowey,* called by the people of Williamsburg, in derision, "Montague's boiled crabs," were sent back to the river, Lady Dunmore and her children returned to the palace, and the council published an address, in which they expressed "their detestation and abhorrence of the licentious and ungovernable spirit that had gone forth and misled the once happy people of this country." The council now shared the public odium with Dunmore, and were severely criticized in the newspapers.

In contrast with the unpopularity of Dunmore were the honors extended to Peyton Randolph. After his return to Philadelphia he was again elected president by the continental

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JOHN MURRAY,
Earl of Dunmore.

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congress, but when, soon after, the news arrived that the house of burgesses was to meet, he resigned and set out for Virginia. At Ruffin's Ferry, on the Pamunkey, he was met by a detachment of cavalry from Williamsburg, all in uniform, who formed an escort. Two miles from Williamsburg they were joined by a company of infantry, and at Williamsburg itself, where they arrived at sunset, they were welcomed with cheers and the ringing of bells. "There were illuminations in the evening, and the volunteers, with many other respectable gentlemen, assembled at the Raleigh, spent an hour or two in harmony and cheerfulness, and drank several patriotic toasts."

The house of burgesses organized on June 1, by the re-election of Randolph as speaker, but hardly had they addressed themselves to the business of the session, before an incident occurred, which had no small effect in increasing the public irritation. On Saturday night, the third of June, a few over-zealous young men broke into the magazine for the purpose of getting arms. A cord, communicating with two spring guns, had been so placed that the arms could not be approached without touching it. One of the guns went off and wounded three of the intruders—one of them, a popular young man, named Beverley Dickson, quite seriously. While the conduct of the young men was not openly approved by the people of Williamsburg, the contrivance resorted to for the protection of the arms was deemed wicked and malicious. Dunmore's unpopularity was increased by the publication at this time of his letter to Lord Dartmouth, representing the condition of the colony as one of open rebellion—a statement perfectly true, but one which the colonists were not yet prepared to admit.[26]

Before proceeding to consider Lord North's proposals, the house appointed a committee to inspect the magazine and enquire into the stores belonging there; and James Innis, captain of the Williamsburg volunteers, was required to place and maintain a guard for its defence. Dunmore thought it best to

[26] For two years the operations of the royal government were suspended in nearly all the colonies, and yet they professed to be loyal to King George.

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repeat his reasons in a message to the house for removing the powder, and promised that "as soon as he saw things in a state of security, he would certainly replace it." But difficulties thickened. Rumors spreading that the mariners and soldiers belonging to the British ship *Fowey* were to be again introduced into the town, the people assembled in the streets with arms in their hands, and were with difficulty convinced that the report had no foundation. In this situation of affairs some news that now arrived from the north proved too much for Dunmore's nerves. An express from General Gage, at Boston, acquainted him of his intention to publish a proclamation proscribing Samuel Adams and John Hancock; and, fearing that he might be seized and detained as a hostage, Dunmore suddenly, about two o'clock in the morning of June 8, withdrew from the palace with his family, his secretary, Captain Edward Foy, and some of his domestics; and went on board of the *Fowey* man-of-war.

The people of Williamsburg were very much surprised at this dénouement, and the council and house of burgesses tried to induce Dunmore to return, but in vain. They, nevertheless, continued their work on the bills of the session, and June 12 Thomas Jefferson, as chairman of a committee, made a masterly report to the house in answer to Lord North's so-called "Olive Branch." The burgesses approved the conduct of the late war with the Indians, and provided the means of defraying the cost; but the governor would not pass the bill, because it imposed a specific duty of five pounds on the head, about ten per cent. on the value, of every slave imported from the West Indies. The last exercise of the veto power by the king's representative in Virginia was for the protection of the slave trade. At length, having finished their legislation, they entreated him to meet them at the capitol for the purpose of giving his formal consent, as was usual, to the bills and resolves passed by the assembly. He replied that he could not go to the capitol, but would be glad to see them on board his majesty's ship in York River.

The burgesses voted this message "a high breach of the

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rights and privileges of this house," and on Saturday, June 24, adjourned to meet October 12. On that day, 37 members only appearing, which was not a sufficient number to proceed to business, they adjourned to the 7th of the succeeding March, 1776. On March 7 only 32 members appeared, who adjourned to the first Monday in May. On Monday, May 6, several members met, but did "neither proceed to business nor adjourn, as a house of burgesses." And thus passed away the last vestige of royal government in Virginia.

Six days previous to the adjournment of the assembly in June, 1775, George Washington had been elected by congress commander-in-chief of the armies of the United Colonies, and after this time the clash of arms took the place of tumults and bickerings. Dunmore proclaimed freedom to the negroes, and instituted a predatory maritime warfare, but after suffering various reverses at Great Bridge, Hampton and Gwynn's Island, he dismissed his ships, joined the British naval force in New York, and, towards the end of the year 1776 sail to England.

July 17, 1775, the third Revolutionary convention of Virginia met at Richmond. Peyton Randolph, representing Williamsburg, was elected president, and, as there was then no executive head, an ordinance was passed, creating "a general committee of safety," to be composed of Edmund Pendleton, of Caroline, George Mason, of Fairfax, John Page, of Gloucester, Richard Bland, of Prince George, Thomas Ludwell Lee, of Stafford, Paul Carrington, of Charlotte, Dudley Digges, of Williamsburg, William Cabell, of Amherst, Carter Braxton, of King William, James Mercer, of Hampshire, and John Tabb, of Amelia. Peyton Randolph was again elected to head the delegation to Congress, and several important ordinances were passed for paying the expenses of the late war with the Indians (£150,000), and for duly protecting the colony.

September 11, 1775, gentlemen representing Williamsburg and the counties of Elizabeth City, York, Warwick, James City, Charles City and New Kent, met in the city, and after electing Robert Carter Nicholas chairman of the meeting, organized a

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PEYTON RANDOLPH.
First President of the Continental Congress.

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battalion of the companies with the following officers: Champion Travis, of Jamestown, colonel; Hugh Nelson, of Yorktown, lieutenant-colonel; Samuel Harwood, of Charles City County, major; and as captains, Robert Anderson, of Williamsburg; John Cary, of Elizabeth City; Richard Cary, of Warwick; William Sheldon Sclater and William Goosley, of York; John Walker, of James City; Furnea Southall and John Tyler, of Charles City; and Thomas Massie and Andrew Anderson, of New Kent. James Bray Johnson was appointed "commissary of musters." Williamsburg was made, by the committee of safety, the rendezvous for the troops of the colony, and Patrick Henry, the commander-in-chief, who arrived September 20, selected the field back of the college as the camping-ground.[27]

On October 22, 1775, died in Philadelphia, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, the Honorable Peyton Randolph, who, during his life-time was considered the foremost citizen in Virginia. Son of Sir John Randolph, he was educated at his father's alma mater, William and Mary College, and studied law at the Inner Temple in London. In 1748 he was appointed attorney-general of the colony and served till 1766, when he became speaker of the house of burgesses, continuing to preside over that body until it expired. He stood at the head of the Virginia delegation to congress, and was the first president of that body. He was also president of the different Virginia conventions till his death, provincial grand-master of Masons in Virginia, and president of the Williamsburg factory. His remains were brought from Philadelphia to Williamsburg by his nephew, Edmund Randolph, and, November 21, were deposited in the family vault in the college chapel in the presence of "the brotherhood of free Masons, both houses of the assembly, a number of gentlemen, and the inhabitants of the city."

The numerous notices in the paper of persons intending to leave the colony show that the crisis had at last arrived. Many in the colony, while opposed to the course of the British gov-

[27] Henry, *Patrick Henry*, I., 320.

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A Group of Revolutionary Statesmen.

1. William Nelson. 2. Edmund Pendleton. 3. George Mason.
4. Richard Henry Lee.

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ernment, were not disposed to favor independence and resistance. Among these was the brother of Peyton Randolph, John Randolph, "his majesty's" attorney-general, who deemed it dishonorable to take up arms against a government under which he held office. He left the colony and died in England, in 1784 but his body was carried back to his native State and buried by the side of his brother, Peyton, in the college chapel. He was the last of the colonial attorney-generals, and his son, Edmund, a warm advocate of the American cause, was first atorney-general of the new commonwealth of Virginia. Besides John Randolph, two of the professors at the college left the colony about this time, Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, who was chaplain to Lady Dunmore, and Rev. Samuel Henley, celebrated afterwards in England as the translator of Vatheck.

The fourth Virginia convention met in Richmond, December 1, 1775, and organized by electing Edmund Pendleton as president. The representative from Williamsburg was Joseph Prentis, in the place of George Wythe, who was absent as a delegate to the general congress. After one day, the convention adjourned to Williamsburg, where it assembled December 4, and remained in session till January 20, 1776. It issued a declaration, replying to the manifestoes of Lord Dunmore, and defending the Colony—an able paper, which was reported by the treasurer, Robert Carter Nicholas, and is believed to have been prepared by him.

May 6, 1776, convened at the capitol in Williamsburg the fifth and most important of all the revolutionary conventions of Virginia. Williamsburg was represented by Edmund Randolph. Congress had pursued the policy of waging a defensive war against Great Britain, and Wythe said in October, 1775, that "it was from a reverence for this congress that the convention of Virginia neglected to arrest Lord Dunmore." Nor was it till December, 1775, that congress gave its sanction to waging an offensive war upon him. Even after that time, they attempted to keep open the door of reconciliation; and the measures adopted by congress and the other colonies up to the meeting of the Virginia convention were limited to the continuance of the "present disputes."

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In no other colony was a finer spirit displayed than in Virginia. In the different counties the candidates for the convention were required to pledge themselves for independence. The earliest county probably to act was Cumberland, whose committee, on April 22, in resolutions drafted by Carter Henry Harrison, used the following language:[28] "We, therefore, your constituents, instruct you to declare for an independency; that you solemnly abjure any allegiance to his Brittannick majesty and bid him good night forever, that you promote in our convention an instruction to our delegates now sitting in continental congress to do the same."

Accordingly, the convention, on May 15, adopted resolutions drawn by the chairman, Edmund Pendleton, offered by Thomas Nelson, and advocated by Patrick Henry, instructing the Virginia delegates in congress to propose to that "respectable body" to declare the United Colonies "free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to or dependence upon the crown or parliament of Great Britain." A second resolution provided for a committee to prepare a declaration of rights and a plan of government for the colony, and by this resolution Virginia was proclaimed independent long before congress acted. In consequence, the greatest joy prevailed in Williamsburg. The troops were drawn out and paraded before Brigadier-General Andrew Lewis in Waller's grove, at the east end of the town, near the theatre. Toasts were drunk, and each of them was accompanied by a discharge of artillery. The bells were rung, and "the British flag was immediately struck on the capitol and a continental hoisted in its room."[29]

On June 12, the convention adopted a declaration of rights, and on June 29, a State constitution, by which it was declared that "the government of this country, as formerly exercised under the crown of Great Britain, is totally dissolved." The declaration of rights was the work of George Mason, and the body of the Virginia constitution was substantially his,

[28] *William and Mary Coll. Quart.*, II. 253.

[29] Henry, *Life of Patrick Henry*, I., 399; Lee, *Lee of Virginia*, 170; *Virginia Gazette*, of May 17.

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though the beautiful preamble proceeded from the pen of Thomas Jefferson. Immediately after the adoption of the plan of government, the convention elected Patrick Henry first governor of the commonwealth. The last act of the convention, on July 5, when it adjourned, was to adopt a State seal, and the inscription, devised by George Wythe, has often been admired for its appropriateness and classic beauty.

On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee moved in congress, in obedience to the instructions of Virginia, the resolutions for independence, but it appearing in the course of the debates that the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina were not yet ready for them, it was thought prudent to wait awhile and to postpone the final decision to July 1; but that this might occasion as little delay as possible, a committee, with Thomas Jefferson at the head, was appointed, June 11, to prepare a Declaration of Independence. The adoption of these great measures, on July 1, and July 4, respectively, consummated the work which Virginia had begun. Her fearlessness was hailed with joy by the people throughout America, and glowing tributes to the patriotism of the Old Dominion were paid in the private correspondence and the public journals of the day. She was the recognized leader in this, the last, as she had been in the first act of the Revolution; and thus is vindicated for Williamsburg, as the scene in which these important proceedings were nursed into maturity, the title of "The Cradle of the Revolution."

The estate of Lord Dunmore, called "Porto Bello," and his library and effects at the palace were seized by the Virginia authorities and exposed to public auction. A younger daughter of Dunmore, named Virginia, born during her father's residence in the colony, had been formally adopted by the general assembly with provision for her life support. After the Revolution she reminded the State assembly of its spontaneously assumed obligations, and later in life, in the eighteenth century, she petitioned the United States congress, by mediation, or by its own act, to secure her some provision, being infirm and in indigent circumstances; but her prayers were unheeded.

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PATRICK HENRY,
First Governor of the Commonwealth.

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Patrick Henry, the first governor of the commonwealth, resided in the palace, and spent the whole of his term of three years in Williamsburg. The convention fixed his salary at one thousand pounds per annum, and ordered that a thousand pounds besides be expended in furnishing his residence. Some of the "big wigs" of former times at first regarded him as rather plain for the office, and made fun of his address and country manners. But Patrick, as chief magistrate, showed them that he could rise to any occasion, and he assumed a dignity of manner and attire that quite astonished everybody. He dressed in a suit of fine black clothes, and a cloak of scarlet adorned his shoulders, while his wig was as big and as fine as any worn upon the streets of Williamsburg.

Virginia maintained her leadership throughout the war. Her arms were employed in so many directions at once that she furnished her full quota, and more than her quota, of troops to the continental cause. The other Southern States were allowed to recruit their regiments on her soil, and the militia in each county, though uncounted as troops, was kept in service throughout the war. She had the Indians on the border to fight, and she was the only one of the States that kept up a public navy. The service of her public ships was of much importance, as they not only effectually prevented the incursions of bands of plundering Tories on the bay, but were useful in making prizes of British merchantmen and in exporting tobacco and other produce, and exchanging their cargoes in the West Indies for arms and military stores. Smollett, in his continuation of Hume's *History of England,* says that "by the export of tobacco from the Chesapeake the credit of the colonies was *chiefly,* if not *wholly,* supported," and "by the inland navigation of that bay, large quantities of provisions were conveyed to the middle colonies for the *subsistence of the American armies.*"

During the time Williamsburg continued to be the capital, which was until 1780, the place was the resort of persons of great distinction. August 2, 1777, "Lady Washington, the amiable consort of his excellency, General Washington," came

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to town from "Eltham," the seat of William Bassett, Esq., in New Kent, and "upon her arrival she was saluted with the firing of cannon and small arms, and was safely conducted to Mrs. Dawson's in the city." The city was in another stir, when the news of the surrender of Burgoyne, at Saratoga, arrived. Patrick Henry issued from the council chamber, on October 31, 1777, a ringing proclamation, appointing the thirteenth day of the next month as a day of thanksgiving. February 22, 1779, "a very elegant entertainment was given at the Raleigh Tavern by the inhabitants of Williamsburg, to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of General George Washington, commander-in-chief of the army of the United States, the saviour of his country, and the brave assister of the rights and liberties of mankind." Not long after, there arrived as prisoner in Williamsburg Henry Hamilton, known as "the scalp taker," late governor-general of Canada, captured by George Rogers Clark at Vincennes in the Northwest Territory. The people were much incensed against him on account of his dealings with the savages, and he was put in irons and kept in jail for some time.

Thomas Jefferson succeeded Henry as governor June 1, 1779, and remained in Williamsburg till the last day of April, 1780, when he went to Richmond, which had been selected as the seat of the new government, and to which all the records and papers were now removed. One of Jefferson's last acts in Williamsburg was to issue a proclamation, naming December 9, 1779, as a day of public and solemn thanksgiving. The last issue of the *Virginia Gazette* published in Williamsburg by Dixon and Hunter, was dated April 8, 1780, and the first issue in Richmond May 9, 1780.

During the remainder of the war the territory of Virginia was scarcely ever free from an invading force, and Williamsburg was kept in constant alarm.

In September, 1780, General Leslie landed in Virginia with 3,000 men, intending to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis in the South, but not receiving news from him, he embarked his forces for Charleston, South Carolina. The last of December Benedict Arnold arrived with another British force and sailed

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up James River, capturing Westover and Richmond. In March, 1781, Arnold was joined by 2,000 additional troops under General Phillips, who took command of the British forces at Portsmouth. Phillips moved up the river, and one detachment landing at Burwell's Ferry, marched to Williamsburg and encamped there two days (April 20-22, 1781). Williamsburg contained no public supplies, but the State had a ship-yard on the Chickahominy, and a squad of the enemy burnt at that place an unfinished ship of 200 tons.

As the authorities had sent nearly all the guns out of the State to the aid of the Northern and Southern armies, there were no means on hand of arming any great number of the militia, and Phillips and Arnold had an easy campaign. The gallant little navy of Virginia was destroyed, and the prospect was gloomier still when Cornwallis, about May 20, 1781, effected a junction with Phillips' troops at Petersburg. He harried and devastated the country about Richmond, and then marched down to Williamsburg, which he reached June 25. During the ten days of his stay he did not improve in his conduct, if we may believe St. George Tucker, a colonel in the Virginia militia, and a resident of the city: "Pestilence and famine took root, and poverty brought up the rear." The British plundered the houses and scattered the small-pox wherever they went. Lord Cornwallis turned President Madison and his family out of his house at the college, and forbade them to get water from their own well, but happily the college building afforded them an asylum until his lordship's departure.

Many of the inhabitants incurred great losses from the British, especially in the matter of their slaves. Thus Dr. James McClurg, professor of medicine in the college, lost "all his small servants but two girls." "Poor Mr. Cocke was deserted by his favorite man Clem; and Mrs. Cocke by the loss of her cook, and is obliged to have recourse to her neighbors to dress her dinner for her. They have but one little boy—who is smaller than Tom—left to wait on them within doors." To add to the catalogue of mortification, the British constrained

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all the inhabitants of the town to take paroles, and left behind them swarms of flies, that for a long time made life almost "intolerable" by their stings.

July 4, 1781, Cornwallis left Williamsburg and proceeded to Portsmouth by way of Jamestown. On the way to the latter place he was attacked by the Americans under Lafayette at the church on the Main, but the assailants were driven back with considerable loss. Afterwards, Cornwallis, under orders from Sir Henry Clinton at New York, transported his troops from Portsmouth by water to Yorktown and threw up intrenchments. Here he fell a victim to the strategy of General Washington and the combined power of America and France. Lafayette, who commanded the American troops in Virginia, watched him at a safe distance, and on September 6, his army, reinforced by 3,000 men, under General St. Simon from the French fleet under Count de Grasse, lay in small detachments encamped on the road from Greenspring to the "half-way house," six miles from Yorktown. General Washington's army was at the head of Chesapeake Bay, preparing to move by water, and the commander-in-chief and General Rochambeau were on the way by land, in advance of their troops.

September 15, Colonel St. George Tucker wrote as follows:

I wrote you yesterday that General Washington had not yet arrived. About four o'clock in the afternoon his approach was announced. He had passed our camp, which is now in the rear of the whole army, before we had time to parade the militia. The French line had just time to form. The Continentals had more leisure. He approached without any pomp or parade, attended only by a few horsemen and his own servants. The Count de Rochambeau and General Hand, with one or two more officers were with him. I met him as I was endeavoring to get to camp from town, in order to parade the brigade; but he had already passed it. To my great surprise he recognized my features and spoke to me immediately by name. General Nelson, the Marquis, etc., rode up immediately after. Never was more joy painted in any countenance than theirs. The Marquis rode up with precipitation, clasped the General in his arms, and embraced him with an ardor not easily described. The whole army and all the town were presently in motion. The General, at the request of the Marquis de St. Simon, rode through the French lines. The troops were paraded for the purpose, and cut a most splendid figure. He then visited the Continental line. As he entered the camp the cannon from the Park of Artillery

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and from every brigade announced the happy event. His train by this time was much increased; and men, women and children seemed to vie with each other in demonstrations of joy and eagerness to see their beloved countryman. His quarters are at Mr. Wythe's (George Wythe's) house. Aunt Betty has the honor of the Count de Rochambeau to lodge at her house. We are all alive and so sanguine in our hopes that nothing can be conceived more different than the countenances of the same men at this time and on the first of June. The troops which were to attend the General are coming down the bay—a part, if not all, being already embarked at the Head of Elk. Cornwallis may now tremble for his fate, for nothing but some extraordinary interposition of his guardian angels seems capable of saving him and the whole army from captivity.

September 22, the army of General Washington arrived at Jamestown and camped on the banks of the river. September 27 they marched through the city of Williamsburg, and Dr. James Thacher, a surgeon, gave this account of his impressions of the place:

This is (was) the capital of Virginia, but in other respects is of little importance. It is situated on a level piece of land, at an equal distance between two small rivers, one of which falls into York, the other into James River. The city is one mile and a quarter in length, and contains about two hundred and fifty houses. The main street is more than one hundred feet in width, and exactly one mile[30] in length, at one of the extremities, and fronting the street, is the Capitol, or State House, a handsome edifice, and at the other end is the college, capable of accommodating three hundred students, but the tumult of war has broken up the institution. The college is about one hundred and thirty feet in length and forty in breadth, with two handsome wings fifty by thirty.[31] Their library is said to consist of about three thousand volumes. Near the centre of the city is a large church, and not far from it the palace, the usual residence of the Governor, which is a splendid building. The water in this vicinity is extremely brackish and disagreeable. This part of the State of Virginia is celebrated for the excellent tobacco which it produces,[32] and this is their principal staple commodity, though the culture of cotton receives some attention.

[30] The real length of the main street was seven-eighths of a mile.

[31] The front of the college was 136 feet by 40 feet, and the wings (chapel and hall) were 60 by 25 feet, outside measurement.

[32] After the Revolution, the culture of wheat was substituted for that of tobacco in the neighborhood of Williamsburg.

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After camping for the night three-quarters of a mile east of Williamsburg (near Fort Magruder), the combined armies took up the march, September 28, to Yorktown, and, on October 19, occurred the surrender of the British army, the effect of which was to secure American independence. Succeeding this, part of the American troops were sent to reinforce General Greene in the south, and another and larger part were returned to New York; but the French remained near Williamsburg till the next summer, the headquarters of the Count de Rochambeau being in the city, probably at the house known as the Peachy house, then the property of Mrs. Elizabeth Bland Beverley, Colonel St. George Tucker's wife's aunt.

On March 2, 1782, the degree of doctor of civil law was conferred by the college on the French general, Count de Chastellux, who enjoyed the honor of being one of the forty members of the French academy.

The provisional articles of a treaty of peace were signed at Paris, November 30, 1782, and in pursuance of a declaration of the continental congress, April 11, 1783, Governor Benjamin Harrison issued his proclamation for the cessation of hostilities within the State. He communicated his proclamation to the mayor of Williamsburg, and on May 1, 1783, American independence was duly celebrated in the city.

GOVERNOR BENJAMIN HARRISON TO THE MAYOR OF WILLIAMSBURG.

RICHMOND, April 23d, 1783.

SIR —It gives me pleasure to have it in my power to congratulate you on the important event of a general peace and American independence as announced in the inclosed proclamation of Congress, & I have to request that you will cause the said proclamation, together with the one issued by me for the strict observance of it, publicly read in your city. I am, sir, Your obedt Hble Servt,

Benj. Harrison.

(On the inside of this letter is written in another hand the "Order of the Procession on the Great Day," as below.)

ORDER OF THE PROCESSION ON THE GREAT DAY, THURSDAY, MAY 1ST.

1st Two attendants, in front, supporting two staffs, decorated with Ribbons, &c., &c.

2d The Herald mounted on a Gelding neatly Caparisoned.

3d Two Attendants, as at first.

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4th Sergeant bearing the mace.
5th Mayor, Recorder, with Charter.
6th Clerk, Behind, carrying the Plan of the City.
7th Aldermen, two and two.
8th Common Council, in the same order.
9th The Citizens in the same order.

The Citizens to be convened on Thursday at 1 o'clock at the Court-House by a Bell man.

After the convention of the citizens they are to make proclamation at the C: House, after which the Bells at the Church, College & Capitol are to ring in peal.

From the Ct House the Citizens are to proceed to the College, and make proclamation at that place, from whence they are to proceed to the Capitol and make proclamation there; and from thence Proceed to the Raleigh & pass the rest of the Day.

College Village.

In 1779 the population of Williamsburg was about 2,000, but the removal of the capital to Richmond was very detrimental, and the population dwindled about one-third in sixteen years. Mr. Weld, in his *Travels,* says that "the town (1795) contained about 1,200 people, and the society in it is thought to be more attractive and more genteel at the same time than any place of its size in America." The city about that time was the residence of Rev. James Madison, president of the college, the first to teach political economy at any American college; of Dr. John Minson Galt, surgeon-general of the United States; of Charles Bellini, the first American professor of modern languages; of John Blair, associate judge of the Supreme Court of the United States; of St. George Tucker, author of the first American text- book on the law; of Dr. James McClurg, professor of medicine in the college, trained in the best universities of Europe; of Robert Andrews, professor of mathematics, who, with President Madison, laid out the boundary line between Virginia and Pennsylvania; of Dr. William Carter, a learned physician; of Robert Saunders, a distinguished lawyer; of Simeon Deane, who brought to America from Paris, in 1778, a copy of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States; and of some others of cultivation and refinement. They lived comfortably and well,

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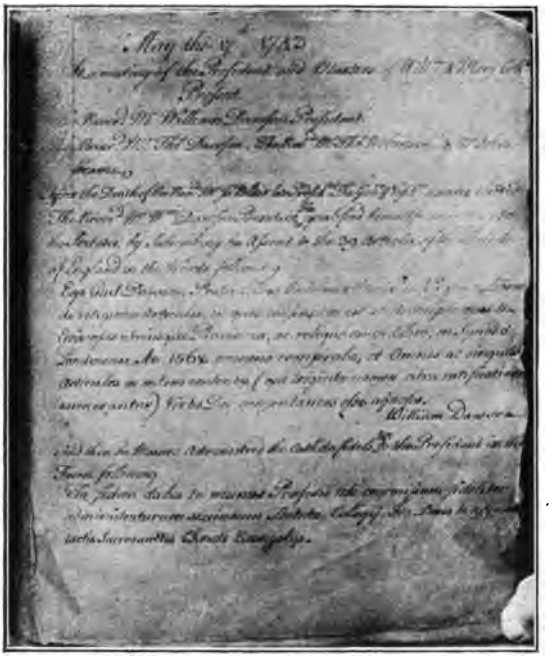

A PAGE FROM THE FACULTY BOOK,
Showing autograph of President William Dawson.

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but without any great elegance or luxury. They had neat gardens and a good market, which furnished excellent meats and poultry, fish, crabs, oysters, wild fowl, butter and vegetables.

In 1804 William Taylor Barry, afterwards postmaster-general, was a student at the college and wrote an account of Williamsburg. He spoke of the place as greatly decayed, and of the houses as of very indifferent architecture. He brightened up, however, when he referred to the site of the town and the main street, which were as "handsome" and "elegant" as they well could be. The ladies, while "not overburdened with learning, were gay, entertaining and extremely hospitable."

In 1824 the town was visited by the Marquis de Lafayette, who was received with respect and enthusiasm. He landed at Yorktown, and the statement is made that the outpouring of the country was so great that the last carriage left Yorktown as the first entered Williamsburg, twelve miles distant. He was entertained at the house of Dr. Peachy, and at the college received from the faculty the degree of doctor of laws.

In 1841 the town was the residence of a president of the United States, John Tyler, who lived at Bassett Hall. For sixty years after the Revolution the country about Williamsburg went backward, and there was much emigration southward and westward; but, during the twenty years immediately preceding the war between the States, the vicinity, in common with all Tidewater Virginia, immensely improved, under the new system of farming, introduced by the noted agriculturist, Edmund Ruffin, a graduate of William and Mary College.

In 1859 a great calamity befell Williamsburg in the accidental burning of the main college building, but the friends of the college came to the rescue and soon restored it. Just at this time, Williamsburg received a visit from William B. Rogers, the famous scientist and formerly a professor in the college, who wrote as follows:

BOSTON, *April* 4, 1859.

Now, let me tell you something of my visit to Virginia, ... I went down the river on Saturday in a little steamer plying between Richmond and the Chickahominy, which, as you know, approaches within fourteen miles of Williamsburg, separating James City and New

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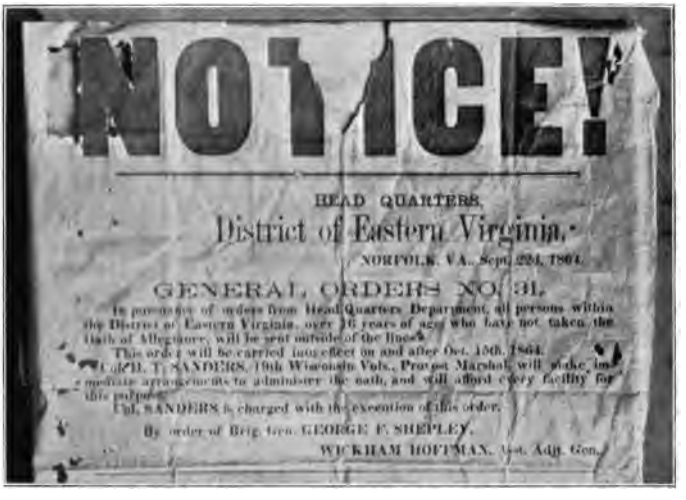

NOTICE!

HEAD QUARTERS,

District of Eastern Virginia.

NORFOLK, VA., Sept. 23d, 1864.

GENERAL ORDERS NO. 31.

In pursuance of orders from Head Quarters Department, all persons within the District of Eastern Virginia, over 16 years of age who have not taken the Oath of Allegiance, will be sent outside of the lines.

This order will be carried into effect on and after Oct. 15th, 1864.

Capt. T. SANDERS, 19th Wisconsin Vols., Provost Marshal, will make immediate arrangements to administer the oath, and will afford every facility for this purpose.

Capt. SANDERS is charged with the execution of this order.

By order of Brig. Gen. GEORGE F. SHEPLEY.

WICKHAM HOFFMAN, Asst. Adjt. Gen.

HAND-BILL REQUIRING AN OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

(Found at the College.)

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Kent counties. A violent storm of wind prevented my landing at the mouth of the river, and I was taken up some miles to a point not far from the residence of our old friend, Littleton Waller. At his pleasant home I arrived a little before sundown, was welcomed with both hands extended, by his wife, not previously known to me, and conducted upstairs, where I found Littleton basking in the warmth of a luxurious wood fire, the very picture of philosophic and benevolent cheerfulness. After visiting all quarters of the globe and sharing in the dangers of the Mexican War, as a purser in the navy, he some years ago retired from active life to his present country home, where he has made himself the model farmer of the neighborhood, and spends his time in doing good to his neighbours. You can hardly imagine his happy surprise at seeing me, and the affectionate inquiry he made about you and Robert. With him and his lady friends I made a good collection at his fine marl bank the next (Sunday) morning, and after dinner was driven in a buggy to dear old Williamsburg. To my great delight I found all along the road proofs of prosperous and improved agriculture. The old "Bunt-ornery," as the negroes used to call the ruinous, charred inn, is now replaced by a hamlet of neat white houses, and on all sides I saw evidences of neatness and thrift. But sad was the sight when about sundown I came in view of the college, as I approached by the road leading past the president's house. Many of the old trees on the roadside greeted me as familiar frends, but I missed the sharp, many windowed roof of the college, and found, as I drew near, that although the solid walls had for the most part, defied the assault of the fire, the whole interior of the wings, as well as main structure, had been turned to ashes.

I drove past, with a tearful eye, noting that the mossy coat of old Botetourt was unscathed, that the dial kept its place, that the president's house and our home, the Brafferton, had not been injured, and that one of those noble live-oaks at the gate was dead. I drove slowly down the quiet level street, at almost every step recognizing familiar objects, and dwelling in dreamy sweet sadness on the past. As I drove by the old church, whose steeple has never yet been painted, the organ was sounding the closing services, and soon after, I reached Mrs. Vest's, at the lower extremity of the street on the right hand. She and her husband came to bid me the warmest and kindest of Virginian welcomes.

The Visitors, including John Tyler, Governor Wise, William Harrison of Brandon, Tayloe of Rappahannock, Tazewell Taylor, etc., asked me to confer with them in regard to rebuilding the college. This has been definitely resolved on, and will be commenced on forthwith. The old foundations and the front wall will be retained, but, of course, a more convenient interior has been planned. The insurance money, with what has been and will be collected from friends, will, I believe, put

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the college in a better condition than before. I obtained in Williamsburg some lithograph views of the college and surroundings taken by Millington's son some years ago, one of which I reserve for you. Though a poor specimen of art, it will be precious as reminding us of the home of our dear father, and the spot where we first caught the inspiration of science.

In 1861 the old capital was excited by the breaking out of war between the States of the American Union. If the patriotism of the State was great in the war of the Revolution, it was far exceeded in the effort to drive back the army of invasion from the North. The people of Virginia were not disposed tamely to surrender to any power that "freedom, independence and sovereignty," which they had so often solemnly claimed and asserted for the commonwealth. The number of troops contributed by the State to the war exceeded 180,000 men,[88] which was almost one-fifth of the entire white population, and far greater than the proportion furnished by any other State, North or South.

During the war the city contributed to the army all its boys over fifteen and men under sixty, and the college, nearly all its students and professors, including President Dr. Benjamin S. Ewell, who was a colonel of infantry and later chief of General Joseph E. Johnston's military staff. On the outskirts of the town was fought the bloody battle of Williamsburg, and through its streets passed the mighty armies of Generals Johnston and George B. McClellan. The city was alternately in the hands of the Confederates and Federals, and new experiences taught the people that pillaging, burning and other excesses were not an accomplishment solely of British troops. The main college building and several fine old houses in Williamsburg and in the vicinity thereof, were destroyed by Federal soldiers, and Cornwallis' policy of taking paroles of the inhabitants was not so harsh as the policy of the Federal officers in imposing an oath of allegiance upon all persons of either sex over sixteen years of age, under penalty of being put outside of the lines—into the woods it might be. Probably the

[88] *William and Mary Coll. Quart.*, XIII., 141.

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most irreparable loss sustained was the destruction of the James City County record books, which were sent to Richmond, at the beginning of the war, for safekeeping, and perished in the fire which destroyed that city in 1865.

Peace came at last, and Williamsburg, shattered by poverty and war, took up again the burden of its destiny. But the Virginian, true to his English descent, never yields to despair; and, after the old Confederate soldiers returned, the houses of the town were repaired and the main college building rebuilt on the old walls of 1694. In 1881 the centennial of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown awakened new life, and the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad ran its cars through Williamsburg not long after. In 1888 the college, which had been closed for seven years, was revived under the patronage of the State legislature. Then, in 1893 the bi-centennial year of the college charter, congress, by an appropriation of money, made amends to a considerable extent for the injuries inflicted by war, and since that time Williamsburg has greatly improved. The "Ancient Capital" has its face toward the future, while proudly conscious of the past. It is often visited by travellers from Europe, and from the North, who never fail to take away with them kind impressions of the neighborhood, and love to repeat in letters to newspapers and other periodicals the interesting stories of its ancient glory. The present population is about 2,500.[34]

[34] Until the present century, when Williamsburg was put by the Legislature wholly in James City County, it lay partly in York County and partly in James City County, Duke of Gloucester Street being, for the most, the dividing line. Consequently, the county records at Yorktown (the early records of James City County being lost), afford much information regarding the early life of the city.

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II.

Bruton Church.

When, in 1632, Middle Plantation was laid out and paled in, a parish of the same name was created, but as no vestry book is preserved, nothing is known of its ministers or officers. In 1644 a parish called Harop in James City County, between Archer's Hope and Martin's Hundred, was established, and in 1658, this parish was united with Middle Plantation to form a new parish called Middletown parish.[1]

By 1654 the "forest" to the northwest had received so many immigrants, that at the session of the legislature that year "the upper part of York County, from the West side of Skimeno Creek to the heads of Pamunkey and Mattapony rivers, and down to the head of the West side of Poropotanke," was created into a separate county, called New Kent; and, at the same session, that part of York County on the river, which lay adjoining, "from the head of the north side of Queen's Creek as high as the head of Skimeno Creek," was made into a distinct parish, and was called Marston. In the same year (1658) Major Joseph Croshaw, whose daughter Unity married Colonel John West, Lord Delaware's nephew, gave to the parish of Marston one acre of his plantation called "Poplar Neck," near the "Indian Fields," for a church-yard, on which land the deed states there was already a church.

In 1660 Rev. Edward Foliott was the minister of Marston parish, and Joseph Croshaw and Robert Cobbs were two of the vestry.

There is a deed, dated March 5, 1659, from Ralph Simkins and Susannah, his wife, to Samuel Fenn, (whose daughter, Sarah, married Thomas Claiborne, a son of the renowned William Claiborne), conveying 37 acres of woodland, "except two acres, part thereof, given formerly by the said Simkins to the use of the parishioners of Middletown parish, and on which

[1] *William and Mary Coll. Quart.*, III., 169.

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a church is now building." In 1674 the parish of Marston was joined to that of Middletown, and the united parishes became known as "Bruton Parish"—a name ever since retained, and derived from the Ludwell family, or from Sir William Berkeley, the governor, who were from Bruton, County Somerset, in England.

No vestry book of Marston parish has been preserved, but its register, beginning in 1660, was continued as the register of Bruton parish, and it has come down to us in a mutilated condition. The new parish opened a vestry book of its own, and the first entry bore date "April ye 18th, 1674." This book, after having been preserved until the late war between the States, disappeared, and has never since been found. Fortunately, Rev. J. C. McCabe had the use of it in 1856, and he published many extracts in *The Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register,* (Vol. III., 1855-'56).

Of Bruton parish, Rev. Rowland Jones (1640-1688), son of Rev. Rowland Jones, of Oxfordshire, and a graduate of Oxford University, was the first minister. The two churchwardens in 1674 were Captain Philip Chesley and Mr. William Aylett, both of York County; and the Hon. Daniel Parke, Mr. James Besouth, Mr. Robert Cobbs, and Mr. James Bray, were members of the first vestry. Alexander Bonnyman was first clerk.

In November, 1677, the vestry determined "not to repair the upper or the lower churches in the parish," but "to build a new church with brick at the Middle Plantation." There were, therefore, in Bruton parish, in 1677, probably three wooden structures for worship coresponding to the old parishes of Marston, Middle Plantation and Harop; for Bruton, which now embraced the three, stretched in an irregular manner from York River to James River, and was about ten miles square. The exact location of these wooden churches becomes a matter of interest. Marston Church stood near Magruder village, about five miles from Williamsburg, at the head of Queen's Creek,[2] and Middletown Church was probably near the present brick

[2] At the edge of a wood north of Magruder are tombstones and some scattered glazed brick indicating a graveyard and the probable site of a

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BRUTON CHURCH.

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church in Williamsburg. In 1674 Thomas Claiborne and Sarah, his wife, made a deed to convey the wife's inheritance in the old plantation of Ralph Simpkins at Middle Plantation except "the two acres on wch the Parish Church of Bruton now standeth, formerly given by Ralph Simpkins unto the parishioners of Bruton." There is absolutely no suggestion preserved as to the location of Harop Church.

To the proposed brick building at Middle Plantation liberal contributions were made by Rev. Rowland Jones, John Page, Gideon Macon, Martin Gardiner, Thomas Ludwell, Esq., and others. On January 23, 1681, an agreement was signed by Captain Francis Page to erect the structure for "£150, and sixty pounds of good, sound, merchantable, sweet-scented tobacco, to be leveyed of each tytheable in the parish for three years together." The land on which the church was built, together with sixty feet of the same every way for a church yard, was "a gift forever from the Hon. Coll. John Page."

On November 29, 1683, the new church was completed, and on January 6, 1684, being the Epiphany, Mr. Jones preached a dedicatory sermon. The fees were fixed: For burial in the chancel, 1,000 pounds of tobacco, or £5, payable to the minister; for burial in the church, 500 pounds of tobacco, payable to the parish; for a funeral sermon £2, payable to the minister; for registering christenings and burials, three pounds of tobacco each, payable to the clerk of the parish; for digging a grave, 10 pounds of tobacco, payable to the sexton. The minister's salary was fixed at 1,600 pounds of tobacco and cask annually.

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church. There is a deed recorded at Yorktown in 1716 from William Jones to Richard Easter for forty acres "in ye place called Indian Field on the branches of a swamp issuing out from ye north side of Queen's Creek, being part of a tract of land lately purchased by ye sd Wm Jones of & from Ralph Graves, father of Ralph Graves," "beginning at a corner red oak near ye Old Church bounding upon John Custis, Wm Jackson, and Richard Easter, & from thence running down Jno Custis' line to a Poplar at ye head of ye Old Church Spring Branch, & from thence along ye water course to a corner ash," etc. Daniel Parke owned land in this quarter which went to John Custis, who married his daughter.

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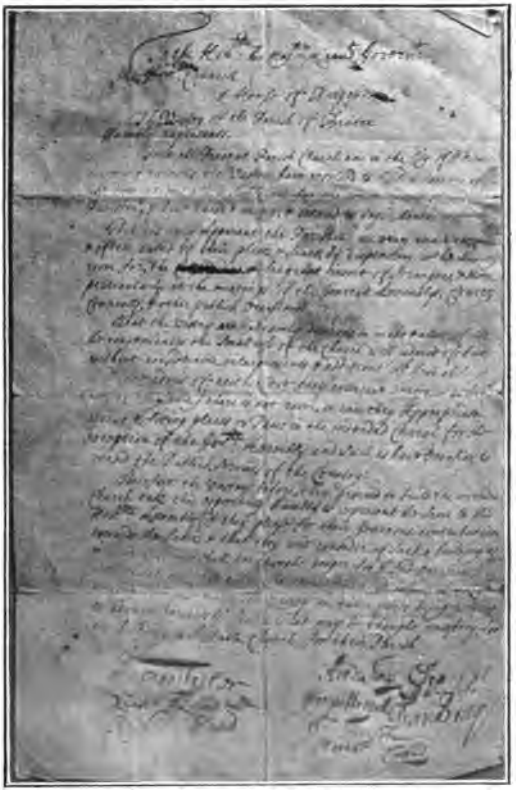

PETITION OF THE VESTRY FOR A NEW CHURCH.

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Among the benefactors of the church, besides those already mentioned, were Sir Edmund Andros, the governor, who, in 1694, gave to Bruton parish a large silver server; Mrs. Catharine Besouth, who gave £10 by her will for the purchase of a piece of plate engraved with her name; and Mrs. Alice Page, who, in 1698, gave "one gold pulpitt cloath and cushion of Best velvett." A church Bible was given by Captain Baldwin Mathews, which, in 1742, "being in danger of spoiling by laying in the chest, Mr. Thomas Cobbs agreed to take, promising to send for another when the same shall be required." A font stone was imported[3] in 1691, and is doubtless the one now in the church.

Until 1711 the church had no bell, but a curious incident proved that "it is an ill wind that blows nobody good," and brought this necessary article of furniture. An English-man-of-war, the *Garland*, employed in driving off the pirate vessels which then infested the waters, was wrecked on the coast of North Carolina. The stores of the ship were taken to Hampton, and Spotswood caused the bell to be brought up to Williamsburg, "where there was none before to call the people to church."[4]

Of course, the establishment of the college at Middle Plantation, "Old-ffeilds," in 1693, and the removal thither of the capital in 1699, had great effect upon the church. We notice in the records frequent mention of repairs, and it becomes evident that the ideas of the vestry had out-grown the limits of the modest church first erected. In 1710, the vestry, consisting of "Hen: Tyler, Rich[d]. Kendall, Rich[d]. Bland, ffred Jones, Hugh Norvell, Wm. Timson, Amb. Cobbs, E. Jenings, and David Bray," complained in a petition to the burgesses that the present church had grown "ruinous," and asked pecuniary aid to build a new church to accommodate the crowd of strangers brought together by the general assembly, the courts, the coun-

[3] Calendar of Virginia State Papers I., 35. The pedestal of the font of the church on the main, preserved in the Magazine, was probably a part of the Jamestown church furniture.

[4] Spotswood's Letters, I., p. 35.

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cils, and other public agencies. As the petition received the active support of the speaker of the house of burgesses, John Holloway, and of the governor, Alexander Spotswood, it could not well fail. The contractor was James Morris, "carpenter and chief workman in the city of Williamsburg, who came into Virginia with Coll. Ludwell." "In order to beat down the extravagant prices of workmen," the governor and Edmund Jenings volunteered to deliver in place "the brick necessary in building the church," at 15 shillings per thousand, "provided some of ye vestry would undertake the other parts." March 1, 1712, Rev. James Blair, clerk, submitted to the vestry in behalf of Governor Spotswood, a plan of the proposed church; and on March 28, 1712, a new draught was ordered. The length of the building was to be 75 feet, of which the governor agreed to put up 22 feet at his own expense. Its width was to be 28 feet, and the church wall 23 feet high. The general assembly contributed two wings, 19 feet long by 22 feet wide. The cost of building the church, exclusive of the two wings, was estimated at £500, a sum equal to $10,000 in present money.

The church was finished about December, 1715, and on November 16, 1716, an order was made by the vestry that "the church-wardens dispose of all the material belonging to the old church, except the brick." In 1717 the new church was shingled.

In 1716 John Custis obtained leave to place upon the north wall of the church, where it still is, the marble slab to the memory of the grandfather of his wife, the Hon. Daniel Parke, which slab was in the old church. And when, in 1720, Dr. William Cocke, who was also secretary of state, died, a tablet was placed opposite on the south wall to his memory.

On January 9, 1717, it was ordered that "Mr. Commissary Blair sitt in the head pew in the church and that he may carry any minister into the same." The youth of the college was given "that part of ye Gallery as far from the pillar on the south side of the Isle of the Church to the north side of the Church," and it was also decided that "further leave be given them to put a door with a lock and key to it to the stairs of

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the said gallery, and the sexton to keep the key." In 1721, a gallery for the parish boys was ordered to be built on the south side of the church adjoining the gallery of the students in the west end. In 1720 John Holloway, having obtained leave of the governor, was permitted to erect a gallery in the end of the south wing of the church, at his own charges. In 1724, Rev. James Blair reported that the church was provided with "a great Bible, 2 Common Prayer Books, the Homilies, Cannons, pulpit cloths, altar and altar pieces, Font, cushion, surplice, Bell, &c.," and that there were 110 families and fifty communicants in the parish.

The pulpit was at the southeast corner, and was reached by a flight of winding stairs. The chancel was at the east end, and the pews were rectangular. The pew of the governor, which, in the old church, had been in the chancel, appears to have been placed in the new church in the southeast corner. There is still a lady living in Williamsburg who remembers the red canopy hanging there which originally marked the place where he sat. Whitewashed walls, oil-painted mahogany seats, and stone-flagged aisles, were features of Bruton, in common with other old churches of the period.

In 1744 the vestry petitioned the general assembly to provide the church with an organ as something "both ornamental and useful." In 1752 John Blair, Philip Ludwell, John Robinson and Peyton Randolph, esquires, and Armistead Burwell, James Power and Benjamin Powell, gentlemen, were appointed by the assembly a committee to enlarge the church and purchase an organ. The cost of the first was not to exceed £300, and of the second, not to exceed £200, but £100 were added by private subscription, and the organ actually cost £300. In 1755 the vestry appointed the minister, "the Reverend and Honorable Commissary Thomas Dawson," and Hon. John Blair. Esq., Peyton Randolph, Esq., Benjamin Waller or any three of them, "to agree with a person to build a loft for the organ"; and Mr. Peter Pelham,[5] son of the early New England artist

[5] Colonel Charles Pelham, of the Revolution, was his son, and Major John Pelham, of the Confederate army, a descendant.

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BRUTON PARISH CHURCH SERVICE.

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of the same name, was elected organist. This organ is believed to have been the first church organ in the United States, just as the theatre in Williamsburg, erected in 1716, was the first theatre, and the asylum for the insane, erected in 1769, was the first public asylum.

Under the act of the assembly, in 1752, the east end of the church was extended twenty-five feet, so as to make the eastern wall of the same distance from the wings as the west end, thereby causing the church to assume its present proportion of 100 feet in length by 28 feet in width, the wings being reduced from 19 feet to 14½ feet.

The present brick wall enclosing the graveyard, was built by Samuel Spurr, of Williamsburg, in 1752, and cost £320. It will be remembered that John Page gave "60 feet of land every way" for the church yard, but the act providing for laying out Williamsburg provided also for condemning land for the church, and the map of the town in the college library shows that the church-yard was was so enlarged as to take in two acres on Duke of Gloucester Street. Around three-fourths of this the brick wall was built, and its front is, on measurement, 330 feet. The other portion of the two acres unenclosed was sold not many years ago to private land owners.

In 1753 the vestry ordered that half of the south gallery, nearest the pulpit, be appropriated to the use of the college; and, in 1762, Benjamin Waller and others were permitted to erect a gallery on the north side for their families.

In 1761 James Tarpley gave a handsome new bell to the parish, and, in 1769, Benjamin Powell agreed with the vestry consisting of such men as Benjamin Waller, Lewis Burwell, William Graves, Robert Carter Nicholas, Thomas Everard, George Wythe, Frederick Bryan, and Colonel John Prentis, to build a new steeple and repair the church for £410; and he was given "the old Bell and the materials of the old steeple." This order relating to the building of the present steeple, does not fix the date of the brick tower, upon which stood the old steeple referred to. This, like the church itself, is built in the Flemish bond, a form of brick construction introduced into Virginia not earlier than 1710.

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The bell presented by James Tarpley, is perhaps *the most historic* bell in the South, if not in the Union. It rang out the news of the repeal of the stamp act in 1766, and of the adoption of the first complete act of sovereignty by any of the colonies (May 15, 1776), being thus six weeks ahead of the Philadelphia bell in proclaiming independence. To the sound of its clear musical voice the Union Jack was hauled down from the capitol at the east end of the Duke of Gloucester Street, and a continental flag run up in its place. Afterwards, on October 19, 1781, it celebrated the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and later the peace with Great Britain, proclaimed in Williamsburg, May 1, 1783.

James Tarpley, the donor, was a prominent citizen of Williamsburg, and was partner in merchandizing with Hon. John Blair, Dr. George Gilmer, and William Prentis.

As to the church government during the colonial period, the vestry controlled the church, and out of their number were elected each year two persons called churchwardens, who saw to the enforcement of the church laws. These churchwardens, who were assisted in their duties by an officer called a sidesman, looked after the poor children, who were taught to read, write and cipher, and reported to the county courts the evildoers, who, contrary to Bishop Meade's suppositions, were promptly punished, as the county records show. The vestry had the power of taxing the people of the parish for all the purposes of the church.

In the vestry's course regarding the election of ministers, the independent character of the Virginians was remarkably illustrated. Under the practice in England, the minister held his living for life, but the vestry of Bruton would only elect their ministers for a year at a time. As the Revolution approached, the church became one of the strongholds of liberty, and every Sunday, while the assembly or conventions were sitting in Williamsburg, some patriotic minister addressed the members.

The effect of the American Revolution in separating church and State reduced the Episcopal church to a very low condition

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in Virginia. The glebe lands were confiscated, and for many years the congregation in Williamsburg was very small and almost lifeless. The church building appears to have been used by all sects of Christians, and it was not until the election, in 1826, of Rev. William H. Wilmer, D. D., as rector of the church and president of the college, that the old form of religion began to take on new life.

The new-felt interest was first shown in the changes made in the body of the church to adapt it to the changed conditions. In 1829 the vestry ordered that the pews be cut down and painted, and the church whitewashed, which was done at a cost of $200. The access to the gallery in the east end had been by the steps on the outside, and, in 1834, these were removed, and in lieu thereof, new steps inside were made. During the same year Right Rev. Bishop Moore was requested to secure monetary aid, if possible, from the vestry of Trinity Church, New York, "in view of the decayed condition of the church and the poverty of the parishioners." The old organ having become useless, a new one was put in about this time.

The vestry began to insist on their exclusive right to the church building, and when a universalist minister from the North, by the name of Dods, applied, in 1831, to preach in the church, his application was refused. His cause was championed by Robert Anderson, a leading citizen of Williamsburg, who appealed to the general assembly. But he did not meet with the encouragement he expected; for, when a motion was made in the house of delegates to refer his petition to a committee, permission was refused, and the petition itself was rejected. Since this time, the title and control over the church have been uninterruptedly recognized to be in the vestry of congregation.

On April 23, 1835, Mrs. Galt was permitted to dispose of the old organ, and to apply the proceeds to the ornamentation or improvement of the organ, gallery, or to such other use in the church as she might think expedient. In 1839, the interior of the church was remodelled, and the space for church service reduced more than one-third by a partition wall, which was

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THE BELL OF BRUTON PARISH CHURCH.

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built across the interior. The chancel was removed from the east end, where it had been for one hundred and twenty-five years, and built out from the newly-erected partition wall in the west. The part of the church constituting the nave was converted into a room for Sunday-school.

The church, thus turned around on the inside, was entered through doors placed in each of the eastern, north and southern ends. The tower in the west, through which the congregation used to pass, was converted into a place for storing coal, and the old pulpit was taken down and the flag stones removed from the aisles. July 14, 1840, the town authorities were permitted by the vestry to set up the town clock in the steeple of the church. This town clock is believed to have been the clock originally placed on the capitol at the time of its restoration, in 1751.

During the war between the States, the church, like all the other public buildings in town, was used as a hospital, but when peace was declared, it returned to its old uses. In 1885 a tin roof was placed on the church, and, in 1886, various other additions and changes were made. Thus the floors were repaired, the walls plastered and kalsomimed, the side lamps removed, chandeliers substituted, the pulpit against the dividing wall taken down, and a reading desk and communion table supplied; and finally the gallery in the north wing of the church was removed. To these and other improvements the Catherine Memorial Society placed $300 in the treasury, and on March 24, 1887, the vestry granted the request of this society to repair the old monuments in the church-yard.

In 1903, the vestry inaugurated measures to restore the church to its original form and appearance; and, wholly through the influence and energy of the rector, Rev. W. A. R. Goodwin, enough money has been raised to effect this interesting work. The pews, pulpit and chancel are now situated in the same relative positions which they occupied in 1715, and the entrance is again through the tower of the church. As the old clock had long since ceased to tell the hours, a large new clock as been placed in the steeple, and a new organ has taken the place of the old.

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Every effort, however, has been made to preserve as much of the old church and furniture as possible, and thus the students' gallery in the west end is a relic of great interest; for the railings and balusters placed there nearly 200 years ago, show many initials cut by knives of the restless youths, who attended church in colonial times. Then, in the steeple hangs the LIBERTY BELL of Virginia—"the gift of James Tarpley, 1761," and its voice is as sweet and silvery as ever. Finally, the old parish register, the font of 1691, and the beautiful communion services may still be seen.

Something has been already said of the first two relics, and now, in conclusion, a short description of the communion services may be deemed proper. There are three sets, and the oldest, known as the *Jamestown Service,* consists of three pieces, two of which, a chalice and paten, were originally presented, in 1661, to the church at Jamestown, by Colonel Francis Moryson, then acting as governor in the absence of Sir William Berkeley, in England, each bearing the following inscription: *Mixe not holy things with profane. Ex dono Francisci Morrison, Armigeri, Anno Domi,* 1661." The manufacturer of the pieces was also the maker of a celebrated cup owned by the Blacksmiths' Company, London, 1655, and subsequently purchased at a sale for the large sum of £378. The third piece of this service, not so old as the other two, is an alms basin, bearing the date 1739, with the inscription "for the use of James City Parish Church."

The second service, known as the *College Service,*[6] consists of a silver gilt sacrament cup and paten, the gift, in 1775, of Lady Rebecca (Stanton) Gooch to William and Mary College. Of these, the cup, which is two-handled, is beautifully chased and embellished with appliqué leaves, and ornamented with the arms of Stanton, impaling a family not identified. It is dated 1686, and bears the hall mark of Peter Haraden, whose name is found on the copper plate in Goldsmith's Hall. The other piece, the plate, bears a much later date, 1737, and its workmanship, though beautiful, is inferior to that of the cup.

[6] *William and Mary Coll. Quarterly,* VI., 40.

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The third service, known as the *Bruton Parish Service,* consists of a flagon, dated 1766, a chalice dated 1764, and an alms basin without mark, but bearing, like the other two pieces, the arms of England used during the reign of George III. This service was probably presented by Francis Fauquier, who was governor from 1758 to 1768, and who was interred the latter year in the north aisle of the church.

Among the new furniture which Mr. Goodwin[7] hopes soon to add to the church, is a Bible, promised by King Edward VII., of England, and a lectern, promised by Theodore Roosevelt, president of the United States.

In this church and church-yard sleep many who were well known in their day: Two governors, Edward Nott and Francis Fauquier; three councillors, John Page, David Bray, and John Blair; three secretaries of State, Daniel Parke, William Cocke and Edmund Jenings; Virginia's first law reporter, Edward Barradall; a judge of the United States Supreme Court, John Blair, Jr.; a United States district judge, Cyrus Griffin, and his wife, Lady Christine Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Traquair; five presidents of the college, William Dawson, William Yates, William Stith, Thomas Dawson, and William H. Wilmer; and many other persons of reputation in their day and generation—law-makers, doctors, preachers and merchants.

LIST OF THE MINISTERS OF BRUTON PARISH.

Rowland Jones, 1674-1688; Samuel Eburne, 1688-1697; Cope Doyley, 1697-1702; Solomon Wheatley, 1702-1710; James Blair, 1710-1743; Thomas Dawson, 1743-1759; William Yates, 1759-1764; James Horrocks, 1764-1771; John Camm, 1771-1773; John Bracken, 1773-1818; R. Keith, D. D., 1821-1826; William H. Wilmer, 1826-1827; Adam Empie, 1828-1836; William Hodges, D. D., 1837-1848; Henry M. Denison, 1848-1852; George Wilmer, D. D., 1856; Thomas M. Ambler, 1860-

[7] Mr. Goodwin has published a very handsome volume on Bruton Church, beautifully printed and illustrated. A new and enlarged edition will soon appear.

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1873; George Wilmer, D. D., (second pastorate), 1872-1876; Jacquelin Meredith, 1876-1877; Henry Wall, S. T. D., 1877-1880; Alexander Overby, 1880-1885; F. G. Burch, 1885-1887; Lyman B. Wharton, D. D., 1888; T. C. Page, 1889-1893; W. T. Roberts, 1894-1902; W. A. R. Goodwin, 1903-

VIEW OF CHURCHYARD, SHOWING OBELISK OF DAVID BRAY.

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III.

The College of William and Mary.

Early History.

The visit of Pocahontas to England in 1616 caused much interest to be taken in the natives of Virginia, and in 1617 King James I. issued his letters to the bishops of England for collecting funds for a college in Virginia, to educate Indian youths. On November 18, 1618, the London Company gave orders for the establishment at Henrico of a university, of which this Indian college should be a branch, and endowed it with 10,000 acres of land. May 26, 1619, Sir Edwin Sandys reported that £1,500 sterling had been collected for the college and more was expected to come in. July 31, 1619, the general assembly of Virginia, at its very first session, petitioned the London Company to send "when they shall think it most convenient, workmen of all sorts, for the erection of the university and college." Accordingly, they sent, a few months later, about a hundred persons, some farmers, to till the land and other tradesmen, such as brickmakers, carpenters, smiths, etc., to get ready the material for the erection of the building. A communion set, a library, and large sums of money were presented to the college by charitably-inclined persons. Richard Downes, son of Mr. Edward Downes, came over, hoping to receive employment as professor, and George Thorpe, one of the king's privy council, and a member of the council of the London Company, was appointed deputy, or manager, of the college servants and lands.[1] But while these steps were being taken for the higher education, the secondary education was not overlooked.

In 1621 Rev. Patrick Copland, who had been employed by the East India Company in converting the native youth in India to the Christian religion, set sail for England in the *Royal James;* and during the journey homeward, meeting with some ships on their way to Virginia, became greatly interested in the future of the colony. Encouraged by what he learned,

[1] ***Records of the Virginia Company of London.***

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he collected from the mariners and passengers, to be employed for the use of a church or school in Virginia, the sum of £70, which, on his arrival in London, he delivered to the authorities of the London Company. The sum was soon after increased to £100 by a gift of £30 from another source, and the question whether a church or a school should be erected was referred to a committee, who decided that there was more need of a public free school than a church, especially as through want thereof the planters had been hitherto constrained,[2] "to their great costs to send their children from thence hither to be taught." The company decided that the fund, equivalent to $2,500 in present figures, should be used to establish, at Charles City (now City Point) a free school, which should hold due dependence on the university at Henrico, and be called the "East India School," after its East India benefactors. It was to be conducted by a master and usher, and for its erection and support, 1,000 acres at Charles City were set apart, and a carpenter and five apprentices sent over.

In recognition of his zeal in the service of the colony and his experience as a missionary, the company, on July 3, 1622, appointed Mr. Copland rector of the intended college for the Indians as well as a member of the council in Virginia.[3]

On Wednesday, April 17, 1622, Copland, at the invitation of the London Company, preached a thanksgiving sermon in London for the happy success of affairs in Virginia the previous year. But about the middle of July it was learned from Captain Daniel Gookin, who came from Newport News, that on Good Friday, March 22, the Indians, whose children were so largely in the proposed scheme of instruction, had risen and barbarously destroyed George Thorpe, the noble superintendent in charge of the college lands, and 346 more of the unsuspecting settlers. The university, college, and free school were all three abandoned, and Copland did not go to Virginia.

And yet the example was not lost. Private persons took up the design, and in 1624 Edward Palmer, of London, de-

[2] Neill, *London Company*, 254.

[3] Neill, *Life of Patrick Copland.*

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vised all his lands in Virginia and New England for the establishment of a university and schools in Virginia, to be called *Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis.* It is said that he purchased an island in the Susquehanna River for the purpose of his intended academy, but the estate was wasted by his executors, and nothing came out of his philanthropic schemes.

A better fortune attended, a few years later, the benefaction of a resident of the colony. Three years before John Harvard bequeathed his estate to the college near Boston, Benjamin Syms, of Elizabeth City County, Virginia, left the first legacy by a resident of the English plantations for the promotion of education. This school was soon succeeded by others. In 1655 Captain John Moon established a free school in Isle of Wight County, and in 1659 Thomas Eaton provided liberally for another in Elizabeth City County.[4]

In 1660 the general assembly renewed the consideration of the question of a college, and Sir William Berkeley and leading members of his council made subscriptions, but, as money was needed for many purposes, and the colony was in a very restless condition, the project suffered another postponement.

Nevertheless, in spite of their isolated settlements, rendering organized action so difficult, the cause of education was always dear to the Virginia planters. From the earliest period laws were in operation requiring the education of orphan children according to their estates, and once every year a special term of the county court was held to inquire into their observance by guardians. The courts and vestries saw to it that pauper children were properly bound out to learn useful trades, and their indentures exacted of their masters schooling from one to three years. There was a general employment of tutors in the colony, and there were also many free schools, parish schools, and private schools. The inventories recorded in the county courts show that nearly every independent Virginia planter, from the earliest times, had a few books. In 1668 Captain Henry King gave 100 acres of land for the maintenance of a free school in Isle of Wight County; and in 1675 Henry

[4] *William and Mary College Quart.*, VI., 73-77.

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ORIGINAL COLLEGE BUILDINGS, AS SEEN AT PRESENT.

1. President's House, erected 1732. 2. Main Building, erected 1694.
3. Brafferton Building, erected 1723.

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Peasley gave 600 acres, together with ten cows and a breeding mare, for a free school in Gloucester County.

In 1685 nine years after Bacon's death, there arrived in the colony a man who was fortunately possessed of the required talents and energy to bring the college to a successful issue. This was James Blair, born in Scotland and schooled at the university of Edinburgh, where he took the degree of master of arts in 1673. He was ordained as a minister of the Church of England, but as neither the Episcopal form of government nor the Episcopal mode of worship found much favor in Scotland, Mr. Blair quitted his preferments there and went to London, where, for some time, he was employed in the office of the master of the rolls. In this position he attracted the attention of the bishop of London, who, being very favorably impressed by both his habits and piety, proposed to him to go as missionary to Virginia. As good fortune would have it, he was assigned to the parish of Varina, in Henrico County, where it had been intended to build the university and college of 1618, and the inspirations of his surroundings probably had much to do with his subsequent action.

In 1689 Dr. Blair received the appointment of commissary, which placed him at the head of the clergy; and the same year a man of almost equal energy was sent over as governor of the colony. This was Francis Nicholson, whose enlarged ideas on education and government placed him much above the average colonial governor. The next year, in July, the clergy held a convention at Jamestown, and Dr. Blair submitted a paper entitled "Severall Propositions for a free school and college, to be humbly presented to the consideration of the next general assembly." These propositions contemplated the education of the white youth of Virginia, the training of ministers for the church, and the conversion of the Indian heathen by founding a college, to consist of three grades, viz.: (1) grammar, (Latin and Greek), (2) philosophy, and (3) divinity. The clergy gave the project their endorsement, and Governor Francis Nicholson and his council, being no less favorable, em-

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Rev. James Blair,
First President of the College, 1693–1743.

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powered certain persons in different parts of the colony, to solicit subscriptions. Then Dr. Blair and other leading clergymen directed an appeal to the merchants of London "especially such as traffick with Virginia," by which means the sum of £3,000 was pledged.

At the meeting of the assembly in April, 1691, Dr. Blair was elected agent for the college and was ordered to visit England for a charter and endowment. He was given elaborate instructions, and set out in June, 1691, arriving in London, September 1. He was successful in interesting some of the highest dignitaries of the church—such as John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury; Henry Compton, bishop of London; Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester; and the famous Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury. By means of Dr. Tillotson especially, he had first an interview with Queen Mary and later one with King William, both of whom promised to favor the enterprise. Dr. Tillotson got the king to appoint November 12, 1691, as the day for the presentation of the memorial with which Dr. Blair was charged by the assembly of Virginia. On that day Dr. Blair was present in the council chamber, all ready and anxious. "I was introduced by the archbishop of Canterbury and my Lord Effingham. I kneeled down and said these words: 'Please, your majesty, here is an humble supplication from the government of Virginia for your majesty's charter to erect a free school and college for the education of their youth;' and so I delivered it into his hand. He answered: 'Sir, I am glad that the colony is upon so good a design, and will promote it to the best of my power.'" The king gave Dr. Blair's petition to his principal secretary of state, Lord Nottingham, by whom it was soon after turned over to the lord commissioners of the treasury.[5]

They retained it a long time, but at last made a favorable report, which was considered by the privy council September 1, 1692, at a court held at Whitehall, exactly a year after Dr. Blair's first arrival in England. At this memorable meeting,

[5] Perry, *Papers relating to the Church in Virginia*, 6.

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HON. ROBERT BOYLE.

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Queen Mary presided in the absence of the king, and an order was entered, confirming the report and directing the lords commissioners to issue all the necessary suggestions for the charter. For the uses of the proposed college, the following funds and sources of revenue were provided at the meeting, viz.: (1) the sum of £1,985, 14s. 10d., arising out of the quit rents in Virginia; (2) the proceeds of the tax imposed by an act of parliament, passed in the year 1673, of one penny per pound upon all the tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia to foreign ports other than England; (3) the profits of the office of surveyor-general of the colony; (4) 10,000 acres of land in the Pamunkey Neck, and 10,000 acres on the Blackwater, to be held in free and common soccage, and upon the quit rent of two copies of Latin verses, yearly delivered at the house of the governor or lieutenant-governor every fifth day of November. This was a handsome endowment, but, in addition, Dr. Blair, while waiting in London, demonstrated his energetic and practical disposition by securing two other funds, which were rather remarkable in their character.

Pirates were very numerous in those days, and the government had often to make compromises in dealing with them, which would not find much favor in these days. It appears, therefore, that some years before Dr. Blair's visit to London, the English authorities had caused it to be made known that any pirate coming into port by a certain time should be forgiven his past transgressions and permitted to retain a part of his ill-gotten treasure. Many availed themselves of this concession to make their peace with the government; but there were three pirates—Edward Davies, John Hinson and Lionel Delawafer—who came in after the date set by the law, and, as a consequence, were arrested and put in jail. They sent a humble petition to the privy council for pardon, alleging that they did not know of the proclamation till it was too late to come in by the day appointed. Dr. Blair saw his chance, hunted the pirates up, and offered to use his influence in their behalf, if they would consent to give the sum or value of £300 of the

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goods under seizure to the use of his proposed college. This the pirates readily agreed to do, and, through the intervention of Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Compton, the pirates were pardoned, and an order was entered by the privy council on March 10, 1692, for restoring to them their treasure, minus the amount promised to the college in Virginia.

The other fund grew out of the will of Hon. Robert Boyle, the eminent natural philosopher, who died in January, 1692, not long after Dr. Blair's arrival in London. The will provided that £4,000 sterling of his money should be employed in "pious and charitable uses," but the testator did not designate the character or locality of the beneficiary. By means of Bishop Burnet, Dr. Blair obtained an introduction to the Earl of Burlington, Boyle's nephew and executor, and entreated him to direct the fund to the support of an Indian school at the college. Burlington was interested, and consented to an investment in an English manor called "the Brafferton,"[6] in the north riding of Yorkshire, from which the rents, subject to £45 for Harvard College and £45 for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, were to go to the college in Virginia. By the terms of the deed, the college was to keep as many Indian children in meat, drink, washing, clothes, medicine, books and education, from the first beginning of letters till they should be ready to receive orders and be sent abroad to convert the Indians as the yearly income of the premises should amount to at the rate of fourteen pounds for every such child.

In the meantime, the charter itself of the college was dragging its slow length along through the different offices of the government in London. The English officials looked upon the colonies as a source of revenue rather than as an equal part of the empire; and Seymour, the attorney-general, to whom the draft was referred, was in no hurry. The story goes that Dr.

[6] The manor of Brafferton, in England, was the scene, as the venerable Bede informs us, where the first British missionary, Paulinus, baptized in the little river Swale 10,000 British heathen. A map of the estate, drawn in 1772 by William Pape, surveyor, hangs in the college library.

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Blair, impatient to return to Virginia, waited upon him and reminded him of the good work the college would perform in educating young ministers among the Virginians, who "had souls to save as well as the people of England." "Souls," exclaimed the imperious Seymour, "damn your souls; make tobacco."

At length, however, all the forms were satisfied and the charter was duly signed on February 8, 1693, in the fourth year of the reign of William and Mary. The college was named "The College of William and Mary in Virginia," in honor of these monarchs; and on May 14, 1694, the college of Heralds in London issued authority for a coat-of-arms, which is described in Burke's General Armory as follows: "Virginia College, Vert a college or edifice ar, masoned ppr., in chief the rising sun or, the hemisphere of the third," or as rendered in simple English: "On a green field a college building of silver, with a golden sun, showing half its orb, rising above it." Thus, the true college colors are not the orange and white in use at present, but green, silver and gold, which makes undoubtedly an agreeable combination. The devices of this coat have come down to us on the college seal, and it is an interesting fact that no other college, American or even English, has perhaps a seal of such high origin. Woodward, in his "Ecclesiastical Heraldry" (1894), says: "The coats-of-arms for the several colleges are, as will hereafter appear, mostly assumed from those borne by their respective families. . . . It does not seem that they were ever the subjects of authoritative grants from the college of arms, from whose jurisdiction the university was exempted by a special charter from Henry II."

The charter provided that, until the college was fully established, its property should be vested in eighteen trustees, appointed by the general assembly, who should also act as visitors and governors, with the power of electing successors, provided the number of the visitors should not exceed twenty at any time. After the establishment was complete, the survivors of the original trustees were to convey all the property confided to

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BOUNDARY STONE.

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their custody to the president and masters or professors, who should then be "a body politic in deed and in name." The visitors and their successors should, in the meantime, and for all time, have the power to appoint all the professors and govern the institution, according to the statutes and orders to be drawn up by the trustees, to elect annually a rector to preside at their meetings, and every seven years a chancellor, who should be "some eminent and discreet person," capable of giving good and sound advice. Dr. Blair, who had been elected by the assembly president during his natural life, and confirmed in this office by the charter, was made also first rector of the board of visitors and governors. Henry Compton, bishop of London, was declared first chancellor. The trustees named in the charter were Francis Nicholson, William Cole, Ralph Wormeley, William Byrd and John Lear, esquires; James Blair, John Farnifold, Stephen Fouace and Samuel Gray, clerks; Thomas Milner, Christopher Robinson, Charles Scarbrough, John Smith, Benjamin Harrison, Miles Cary, Henry Hartwell, William Randolph and Matthew Page, gentlemen. The college society was to consist of one president, six masters or professors and a hundred scholars, more or less, graduates and non-graduates, and the faculty was given a right to elect "from their own body, or from the visitors or from the better sort of inhabitants" of the colony a person to represent the college in the house of burgesses.

The location of the college, as first proposed, was a broad plateau, just above Yorktown, commanding a splendid view of York River; but the charter gave the general assembly the right to choose another place, and in October, 1693, they declared Middle Plantation the "most convenient and proper" site, and ordered that the college "be erected and built as near the church now standing in Middle Plantation old ffeilds as convenience will permitt." They also gave to the college the proceeds of certain duties on skins and furs. Soon after, on December 20, 1693, the trustees purchased from Colonel Thomas Ballard, for £170, 330 acres west of the church and

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reaching back to the meanders of Archer's Hope swamp. This land had been sold to Ballard by Thomas Ludwell, the secretary of state, who purchased it of John White. The next year boundary stones, with the royal monogram and the figures 1694 upon them, were set up, and the work of erecting the college building immediately began with the funds in hand, under the supervision of a committee of the trustees.

Mr. Thomas Hadley, brought from England by Dr. Blair, had the immediate management, and Colonel Daniel Parke furnished the bricks, which were made nearby, at a cost of 14 shillings per thousand. The plan of the college was drawn by Sir Christopher Wren, the eminent architect, who designed St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and contemplated a rectangular structure two stories and a half high, one hundred and thirty-six feet long and forty feet wide, and with two wings sixty feet long and twenty-five feet wide by outside measurement. In 1697 the then rector of the college, Rev. Stephen Fouace, reported to Governor Andros that they had completed the front and north side of the designed rectangle, and that, as they had gone beyond their supply of money, Mr. Blair had been desired to go to England again.

The walls of the college, thus partially constructed, were built in the English bond, having alternate courses of stretchers and glazed headers. They were more than three feet thick at the base, and contained 840,000 bricks. The recitation rooms were in the first two stories of the front, and the north wing was made into a hall, where meals were served and the college exercises held. The rooms of the president, officers and scholars were in the garrets, over the front and the hall.

While Dr. Blair was in England in 1693, he secured the services of another Scotchman, Rev. Mungo Inglis, a master of arts, to act as head of the grammar school. This school was opened in 1694 in a building apparently already in use for a school. Mr. Inglis was assisted by a Mr. Mullikin as usher, and also by a writing master. Mr. Mullikin was succeeded by John Hodges as usher, and in May, 1697, the members of the

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house of burgesses attended the scholastic exercises and expressed themselves greatly pleased with the proficiency of the scholars. The school hours were from 7 to 11 o'clock in the morning, and from 2 to 6 in the afternoon.

During this time there was much opposition to Dr. Blair and the college. Governor Nicholson was removed to Maryland in 1694, and Sir Edmund Andros[7] was appointed his successor in Virginia. Andros was a narrow-minded man, and, setting up as a rival to Dr. Blair in ecclesiastical matters, soon conceived the strongest objections to him and the college. He suspended Dr. Blair from the council, and, it is said, exerted all his influence to induce the subscribers to the college fund to withhold their subscriptions; and, in the elections for burgesses of the colonial assembly, he was active in spreading the fear that increased taxes would be the sure result of voting for "a collegian."

Encouraged by the governor, the gentlemen of the council who had been "forwardest" to subscribe, became the "backwardest" to pay, and Secretary Ralph Wormeley, who, next to the governor, had the greatest authority in Virginia, pretending a superior claim to the lands in Pamunkey Neck, had the college surveyors abruptly stopped in that quarter. As a result of their intrigues, only £850 of the £3,000 subscribed was collected up to 1697. But Andros was not content, for Dr. Blair complains that he descended to expediencies personally insulting to him and to the other friends of the college, especially to Governor Nicholson, of Maryland.

He stirred up "a sparkish young gentleman" named Daniel Parke, to challenge Nicholson when he came from Annapolis

[7] Sir Edmund Andros was born in London December 6, 1637; served in the army against the Dutch, and in 1672 was appointed a major in Prince Rupert's Dragoons; appointed governor of New York in 1678; and in 1681 was governor of New England. When James II. abdicated the throne, Andros was deposed by the people in New England; commissioned governor of Virginia in 1692; was succeeded by Francis Nicholson October 9, 1698; governor of Guernsey from 1704 to 1706. He died in London February 27, 1714.

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to the meeting of the college board, and Andros actually put the governor of Maryland under a brief arrest. As Dr. Blair was protected by his cloth, another course was taken to annoy and mortify him. Mrs. Blair, having no pew of her own in Bruton church, sat, at the invitation of Lady Berkeley, in the pew of her husband, Colonel Philip Ludwell, of Greenspring, father-in-law of young Parke. One Sunday, Parke, strutting into church, noticed Mrs. Blair in the pew, and pretending to regard it as his own, "rushed with a mighty violence, and seizing her by the wrist," pulled her out, in the presence of the minister and congregation, who, we are told, were greatly scandalized, as they ought to have been, at this "ruffianly and profane action."[8]

Governor Andros was, however, not long in finding out that it was no light thing to antagonize a man of Dr. Blair's influence. The latter, on going to England in 1697, complained to the authorities, and represented Andros as an enemy to religion, the church, the clergy and the college. The bishop of London and the archbishop of Canterbury examined into the charges, and the result was that Dr. Blair was restored to his seat in council, and Andros was recalled.

There were reasons to expect better times, when Francis Nicholson was restored to the government in 1698. He was one of the great original friends of the college, and had led in the subscriptions by giving £150. At first he acted with all his original zeal in the college behalf; for, shortly after his return, he persuaded the general assembly to make Middle Plantation, where the college was building, the seat of the capital of the colony, instead of Jamestown. The effect of Nicholson's personal example is shown by the following cheerful words of Dr. Blair, written to the archbishop of Canterbury, February 12, 1698: "The subscriptions that were made to our college do

[8] Parke afterwards served with Marlborough and brought the news of the victory of Blenheim to Queen Anne, who honored him with her likeness He was afterwards governor of Antigua, and was killed in a tumult brought about by his tyranny. His portrait represents him with a medallion containing the queen's portrait.

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now come apace, so that we are in hopes of having it quite finished before next winter." Dr. Blair must have alluded to the completion of the front and the north wing, as there is no evidence that any attempt to erect the south wing in rear was made at this time. Nicholson was indefatigable in attending to his government, and marked the close of the seventeenth century by attempting to secure a reliable census of the population, schools, property and other matters of public interest. The commencement exercises at the college in 1700 were of unusual interest and were attended by a great concourse of people, some persons coming from New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland.

King William himself took a hand in pushing on the work at the college, and issued a proclamation:[9]

William R.

Trusty and welbeloved, Wee Greet you well. Whereas wee have thought fitt that all due Encouragement be given to ye College of Wm and Mary lately founded in our Town of Williamsburgh in Virginia for promoting Religion & Learning in those parts; wee do therefore hereby recomend ye same to you willing and requiring you to doe whatever lyes in you for ye due encouraging ye sd College, and in perticular yt you call upon ye psons yt have promised to contribute towards ye maintenance of ye sd College, to pay in full their severall Contributions to the end so Good and pious a Work may be carryed on for ye Generall benefit & good of that Country. And soe we bid you farewell. Given at our Court at Hampton Court the 30th day of December, 1700, in the twelfth yeare of our Reigne.

By his majties Command Ja: Vernon.

To our Trusty and Welbeloved ffrancis Nicholson Esqr. Our Lieutent and Governr Generall of our Colony and Dominion of Virginia in America; Or to our Commandr in Chief of our said Colony for ye time being.

The educational aspect of things in the colony had improved, indeed, in other respects. In 1691 Hugh Campbell, for the support of persons to teach school, gave 200 acres in

[9] A copy of this proclamation hangs in the College Library, attested by Dionysius Wright, clerk of the council, and addressed: "For his Majties service. These To the Sheriffe of Warwick County, Q. D. C."

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each of the three counties, Norfolk, Isle of Wight and Nansemond; and in 1700, William Horton endowed a free school in Westmoreland County. Beverley, who wrote in 1703, says: "There are large tracts of land, houses and other things granted to free schools for the education of children in many parts of the country, and some of these are so large that of themselves they are a handsome maintenance to a master; but the additional allowance which gentlemen give with their sons render them a comfortable subsistence. These schools have been founded by the legacies of well-inclined gentlemen, and the management of them hath commonly been left to the direction of the county court, or the vestry of their respective parishes." After this time we learn of many such schools in the county records, the most interesting being Mrs. Mary Whaley's free school in York County, established in 1706, and William Broadrib's in James City County, established about the same time.

But Nicholson and Blair were of similar temperaments, each being fond of having his own way, and it was not many years before these erst-time friends were at cross purposes. Dr. Blair undertook to make some suggestions about the mode of conducting government, which mightily offended Nicholson, and his hot, peppery temper caused him to fly from one extreme to another. It is stated that Nicholson encouraged the boys of the grammar school in 1704 to bar Dr. Blair out of the grammar school, and provided them with his pistols for that purpose. But Nicholson published a pamphlet, in which he declared that the whole affair was only a merry prank of the boys to get a little longer vacation at Christmas, and that, while he had given them his pistols and some powder, they had no solid shot, and no one ever dreamed of doing President Blair any real harm.

Dr. Blair is not exactly a fair witness, but he ascribes the change in Nicholson to jealousy of Dr. Archibald Blair, who was the president's brother and visited a young daughter of Major Lewis Burwell, of King's Creek, with whom Nicholson was desperately infatuated. He sent for Dr. James Blair, and abruptly addressed him in these words: "Sir, your brother is a villain and you have betrayed me." Then, with hands up-

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lifted to heaven, he shouted: "Mr. Blair, take notice. I vow to the eternal God that I will be revenged on you and all your family." It is said that Nicholson often vowed that, if Miss Burwell married any other than himself, "he would cut the throats of three persons, the bridegroom, the minister and the justice who should give the license." So much talk occurred that one of the governor's London friends conceived it proper to write him a letter in which he besought him not to give the lady or her relations any further molestation, "but to remember that English women were the freest in the world and not to be won by constraint, and that it was not in Virginia as it was in some barbarous countries, where the tender lady is often dragged into the lover's arms just reeking in the blood of her nearest relatives." Nicholson, however, persevered in his course, and the end came in 1705, when six of the council, consisting of Robert Carter, James Blair, John Lightfoot, Matthew Page, Benjamin Harrison and Philip Ludwell united in an address to Queen Anne, and the eccentric Nicholson was removed from his government.

It is fair to state, however, that in this controversy Nicholson had the support of the majority of the clergy, as well as the majority of the house of burgesses; and the majority of the people, too, appear to have been on his side. After this, two heavy calamities befell the college—the resignation of Mungo Inglis, the accomplished master of the grammar school, who took sides with governor Nicholson, and the accidental burning of the college, October 29, 1705. Ever since the year 1700 the college had been the headquarters of the government, and the general assembly had held several sessions there. In April, 1704, they met for the first time in the new capitol at the other end of Duke of Gloucester Street, but the speaker, Peter Beverley, had his sleeping apartment in the south end of the front building of the college. The council had not yet removed, and the clergy had held their last annual meeting there in February previous. "The fire broke out about ten o'clock at night, in a public time. The governor and all the gentlemen that were in town came up to the lamentable spectacle, many getting

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out of their beds. But the fire had got such power before it was discovered that there was no way of putting a stop to it, and, therefore, no attempt was made to that end."

However, the college project was now too deeply rooted in the affections of the Virginia people to be laid aside readily, and immediately after the fire the general assembly renewed the tax on skins and furs for the support of the institution. Dr. Blair also went to work again, and, to raise a fund for the restoration, declined, for several years, to receive his salary of £150 as president. In 1710 he resigned the rectorship of the Jamestown church, which he had held since 1694, and accepted that of Bruton church, in order to be still nearer the college. During the same year Alexander Spotswood arrived as governor, and united cordially with President Blair in the work of restoration. Then, about this time, Queen Anne gave £1,000 sterling out of the quit rents of the colony. The college was rebuilt on the old walls, and made more convenient and durable than before.[10]

Teaching was not discontinued, though, so far, the work was only that of a grammar school, to which children of eight years and upwards were admitted. Mungo Inglis was succeeded by Rev. Arthur Blackamore; and Christopher Jackson taught four or five Indian children at the charge of the Brafferton fund. In 1711 the restoration of the college had proceeded far enough to permit the addition of a professorship of natural philosophy and mathematics; and, accordingly, a Mr. LeFevre had the honor of being the first incumbent. He proved, however, a man of irregular habits, and after a term of nine months he was removed.

In 1711 the people of North Carolina were engaged in a bloody war with Tuscarora Indians, and at that critical time

[10] President Ewell was originally of the opinion that the first building stood 200 feet in rear of the second, but subsequent investigation caused him to take a different view. A few years before the second fire, in 1859, the college building was replastered, and when the old plaster was taken down, "the traces in the walls of an extensive conflagration were not to be mistaken."

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Spotswood deemed it prudent to keep a watchful eye upon the tributary Indians. He demanded of each nation several of their great men's children to be sent to the college, where they served as so many hostages for the good behavior of the rest, and at the same time were themselves principled in the Christian religion. In 1712 there were twenty of these Indians at the college, and among them were the son of the queen of Pamunkey, the son and cousin of the king of the Nottoways, and the two sons of the chief rulers of the Meherrin Indians.

In 1716 Mr. Blackamore resigned, and Mr. Inglis was again appointed at the head of the grammar school. The same year "the college being well nigh compleated again," the mathematical chair was tendered to Rev. James Fontaine, but it does not seem that he ever actually came to Virginia, and not long after Rev. Hugh Jones was made professor.

In 1717 Mrs. Philarity Giles, of Isle of Wight County, left by her will her reversionary interest in some lands on the Blackwater River to the college. In 1718 the general assembly made a donation of £1,000, sufficient to establish three scholarships, at the rate of £12 per annum for each scholar. In compliance with the act, the sum of £150 was invested in 2,119 acres lying on both sides of Nottoway River in the counties of Prince George, Surry and Brunswick, the sum of £476, 4 shillings were paid for seventeen negro slaves, and the balance amounting to £373, 16 shillings, was placed out at interest. In 1719 Mr. Inglis dying, Mr. Jones temporarily assumed the duties of grammar master, and the same year a convention of the clergy of the colony was held in the college hall. In 1720 Colonel Edward Hill, of Shirley, in Charles City County, left by his will, £150, which was applied to the purchase of books.

For several years Rev. Charles Griffin had been employed by Spotswood in conducting a school among the Saponies at Fort Christanna, in Brunswick County, where he had as many as seventy-seven children under his care. But the general assembly, refusing to incur any expense about the matter, Spotswood, who paid Mr. Griffin £50 per annum out of his own pocket, had to discontinue the school, and Griffin was trans-

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FIRST PAGE OF THE FIRST FACULTY BOOK.

AUTOGRAPH OF PRESIDENT JAMES BLAIR.

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ferred about this time (1720), to the college "to teach the Indians instructed there by the Benefaction of the Honorable Mr. Boyle." Mr. Jones says that the Saponies "so loved and adored him that I have seen them hug him and lift him up in their arms, and fain would have chosen him for a king of the Sapony nation."

In 1723 a handsome brick house was built in front of the college, out of the proceeds of the Brafferton estate, and it has been known as "the Brafferton building"[11] ever since. It was built in the Flemish bond, having blue glazed headers, alternating with stretchers in the same courses. It was two stories and a half high, with dormer windows, was 54 feet long and 34 feet wide, and contained 12 rooms. It is still standing, and is now used as a dormitory for white students. To this building the Indian children were transferred, and the hope was cherished that here, gathered together under the eye of the master and usher, they would enjoy better health and have better care taken of them; for, hitherto boarded out in the town, "abundance of them" used to die, either through want of care, change of provision, or way of life, it happening, even in the case of those who were taught to read and write and lived out their time at college, that they, on their return home "relapsed into their own savage customs and heathenish rules." A few of them would continue to live in Williamsburg, but they seldom raised themselves to a high level, either loitering away their time in idleness and mischief, or acting as servants to English families. Rev. Hugh Jones, from whom we get most of these facts, gives a description of the college building as it appeared in 1723, which is as follows:

> The latitude of the College at Williamsburgh, to the best of my observation, is 37° 21′ north. The front, which looks due east, is double, and is 136 Feet long. It is a lofty Pile of Brick Building adorn'd with a Cupola.
>
> At the North End runs back a large wing, which is a handsome Hall, answerable to which the Chapel is to be built; and there is a spacious

[11] On a brick near the south door is the inscription, "W. B., 1723." W. B. were the initials of William Byrd, rector of the Board.

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Piazza on the West side, from one wing to the other. It is approached by a good Walk, and a grand Entrance by Steps, with good Courts and Gardens about it, with a good House and Apartments for the Indian Master and his Scholars, and Out-Houses; and a large Pasture enclosed like a Park with about 150 Acres of land adjoining, for occasional Uses. The Building is beautiful and commodious, being first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the nature of the Country by the Gentlemen there; and since it was burnt down, it has been rebuilt, and nicely contrived, altered and adorned by the ingenious Direction of Governor Spotswood, and is not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital.

Mr. Jones further tells us that the college had a small library, enriched of late by the kind gifts of several gentlemen, but the sets of books were not all perfect nor of the best quality. The salary of the president of the college had been £150, but lately this had been reduced to £100. The salary of each professor was £80 per annum, but they got the benefit of a fee required of each scholar or student—15 shillings in the grammar school and twenty in the philosophy school. Finally, we are told that the professors and students were lodged in the third story of the college, and received their board at extraordinary "cheap rates," the keeper of the table in 1723 being Mrs. Mary Stith.[12] It would appear that at this time the college had, in addition to the grammar and Indian masters, two professors of philosophy.

The harmony which prevailed at first between Dr. Blair and Governor Spotswood was interrupted, when, like Andros, Spotswood assumed authority with reference to the clergy, which was disagreeable to Dr. Blair. His dictatorial conduct in other matters rendered him equally displeasing to the members of the council and of the house of burgesses. The veteran of Marlborough, like Andros, came out the loser, and in 1722 he was removed from his office by the government at home. The two succeeding governors took warning, and Dr. Blair had the hearty co-operation of Drysdale and Gooch in all his measures for the advancement of the college.

[12] A daughter of Colonel William Randolph, of Turkey Island, wife of Captain John Stith, of Charles City County, and mother of the historian, William Stith, president of the college in 1752-1755.

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In 1726 the general assembly gave the college £200 per annum for 21 years out of the duty of one penny per gallon on liquors, which was a very great help. By 1729 the trustees had succeeded in founding all the departments in the college contemplated by the charter, as well as in digesting a set of statutes or rules for government. Therefore, pursuant to the charter, on February 27, the two surviving trustees, James Blair and Stephen Fouace signed a deed, transferring all the college realty and personalty to the president and masters or professors, who, thereupon, took charge. It was prepared by John Randolph, of Williamsburg, (afterwards Sir John Randolph), and for his trouble the faculty voted him fifty guineas. The original instrument, which remained in the college library till its destruction by fire in 1859, was written upon fourteen beautifully illuminated sheets of parchment. All the formalities, however, were not completed until August 15, and the next day the president and masters met and qualified themselves by subscribing their assent to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England and taking the oath *de fideli administratione.*

The statutes,[13] adopted by the trustees at the time of the transfer, were dated at London, June 24, 1727, and established three degrees of instruction. The scholar first entered the grammar school, where the Latin and Greek languages were taught, four years being assigned to the Latin and two to the Greek. They studied the same books as were by law and custom used in England, but the master was permitted, with the president's consent to make criticisms on the grammar employed. He was especially required to train the boys to speak the ancient languages by a free use of the colloquies of Corderius and Erasmus and other such books. On Saturdays and the eves of holidays, a sacred lesson was given out of either *Castalio's Dialogues,* or *Buchanan's Paraphrase of Psalms.* In 1729 the master of the school was Joshua Fry, afterwards dis-

[13] A copy of these statutes, printed by William Parks in 1736, is in the library of congress.

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COLLEGE BUILDINGS IN 1732.

Main Building in the centre. President's house on the right and Brafferton building on the left.

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tinguished as a colonel in the French and Indian war, and the usher was Rev. John Fox. The boys remained in the grammar school till fifteen years of age, when, on passing a satisfactory examination before the president and masters and ministers, skilled in the learned languages, they were promoted to the philosophical schools, where they were called students, and assumed the cap and gown.

The salary of the master of the grammar school as now established was fixed at £80, with a fee of 15 shillings for each scholar. The usher received a salary of £50 and a fee of 5 shillings for each scholar. But foundation scholars, that is, such as had scholarships, had no fees of any kind to pay, and also received their board free.

There were two masters in the philosophy school: first, the professor of moral philosophy, who taught "rhetoric, logic and ethics;" and the professor of natural philosophy and mathematics, who taught "physicks, metaphysics and mathematics."

The statutes required that, besides "disputation," the youth was to be exercised in declamation and themes on various subjects, though the particular line of instruction was left to the discretion of the president and the professors, who were expected to consult the chancellor. It was expressly declared in the statutes that the professor of moral philosophy was not to be confined to "the logic and physics of Aristotle, which had reigned so long alone in the schools." The salary of each professor was £80 sterling, and a fee of 20 shillings a year from each scholar, except the scholarship students, who, as in the other schools, were taught gratis.

According to the form and constitution of the famous institutions in England, two years' study in the philosophy school was required for the degree of bachelor of arts, and four years for that of master of arts.

In 1729 the professor of natural philosophy and mathematics was Alexander Irvine, who was the surveyor with William Mayo, in running the North Carolina line, in 1728. The professor of moral philosophy, the same year, was William Dawson, of Aspatria, Cumberland County, England, a bachelor of arts of Queen's College, Oxford.

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The third school was the divinity school, in which there were two professors, one of whom taught the Hebrew tongue, and expounded the Old and New Testaments, and the other explained "the common places of divinity and the controversies with heretics." As in the other schools of the college, the student was constantly exercised in debates, but on subjects of a theological character. The two professors in 1729 were Rev. Francis Fontaine, son of Rev. James Fontaine, and Rev. Bartholomew Yates—the latter being one of the most exemplary ministers that ever lived in Virginia. They received each an annuity of £150, but no fees.

For the Indians the college maintained an ordinary common school, in which the master, Richard Cocke, taught "reading, writing and vulgar arithmetic." The attendance on this school was augmented by white boys from the town, for whom the master charged 20 shillings a year each. His salary, outside of the fees, was £40 or £50 sterling, paid from the rents of the Brafferton estate in Yorkshire, in which, as has been related, the funds by Boyle for "pious and charitable uses" were invested.

The president lectured on some theological subject once a week, but he had no regular classes. He was expected to have a watchful eye over the professors, students and revenues; and when the board of visitors met, he was present, and voted at all their meetings and councils. His salary was £150 sterling, with a house and garden suitable to the position.

The president and six masters met, in the ordinary government of the college, whenever it was deemed expedient; and at such times, all questions were determined by a major part, the side on which the president voted prevailing in case of a tie. To this meeting belonged the election of the usher of the grammar school, the bursar, library-keeper, janitor, cook, butler and gardener, and all other subordinate officers. According to the monastic views of colleges then prevailing, the privileges of a family were accorded to the president alone, and the violation of this rule brought about much disturbance, as we shall see.

The William and Mary system was but a colonial reproduc-

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tion of the higher education in England. Under the title of "ethics," the professor of moral philosophy at William and Mary treated, from an early date, of the rights and duties of the state—the subject-matter of natural and civil law.

June 28, 1732, the south wing of the college chapel, contracted to be built three years before by Henry Cary, was opened. Mr. President preached on Proverbs xxii. 6: "Train up a child in the way that he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." And on July 31, the foundations of the president's house, opposite to the Brafferton building, were laid by the same builder, the president, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Fry, Mr. Stith and Mr. Fox laying the first five bricks in order, one after another. The following, extracted from a letter of Rev. William Dawson to the bishop of London, dated William and Mary College, August 11, 1732, is descriptive of these events:

I beg to acquaint your Lordship that on June 28th, 1732, our new chapel was opened with great solemnity. The Governor and his family were pleased to honour us with their Presence, and it being the assembly time, the members of both Houses came in great numbers. An holy Joy appeared in every countenance. The stated hours of morning Prayer are six in the Summer, seven in Winter and always five in the evening. The same Time is set apart for Holidays, which, with all Humility and Difference, I think an Improvement upon the season observed in our College at Home.

July 31. The foundations of a common brick House for the President were laid opposite to Brafferton. It is to be finished for £650 current money by Oct., 1733, according to the articles of agreement. These two buildings will appear at a small distance from the East front of the College, before which is a Garden planted with evergreens kept in very good order. The Hall and Chapel, joining to the west Front towards the Kitchen Garden, form two handsome wings.

After one hundred and seventy-five years, the brick house, erected in 1732, opposite to the Brafferton, is still the residence of the president of the college, and the chapel, begun in 1729,[14] is still used for holy service. The "hall" is now divided into lecture rooms, and no longer used for assembly purposes. A

[14] On a brick placed near the former entrance to the chapel at the south end is the inscription, "R. K. (Richard Kennon, rector), 1729."

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MRS. JAMES BLAIR,
Wife of President James Blair, and daughter of
Colonel Benjamin Harrison.

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commodious assembly hall is one of the needs of the college. Both chapel and president's house, like the Brafferton, were built in the Flemish bond.

The same month John Randolph left Williamsburg for England. He bore with him a letter of instructions from the faculty in regard to the college finances, and a purchase of books for the Brafferton. He was directed to wait upon the lords of the treasury and the commissioners of the customs, to seek correction of the frauds which had sunk at least one-half the revenue from the exports of tobacco. He was also directed to obtain the advice of the bishop of London[15] and the archbishop of Canterbury,[16] as to the "properest books for our use with their best editions." To prevent duplication, he was given two catalogues—one of the books which the college possessed already, and another of those intended by Dr. Blair for the college at his death. Dr. Dawson wrote to the bishop of London:

> Now, my lordship, if our humble Proposal to pay out part of the Brafferton money wch is in Mr. Perry's hands for the Purpose of furniture and books meets with approbation and encouragement from your lordship, we have a very convenient room for a library over the Indian School. My Lord Burlington, I am informed, has promised to present us with the Honble Mr. Boyle's Picture, which we intend to hang up in the aforesaid Library. His Philosophical and Theological works, together with those which were written by his encouragement, may, perhaps, be thought no improper part of the collection. The Books published by our Right Rev. Lord and Chancellor wd. do honour and service to the College. A complete set of the Classics is very much wanted. The President has bequeathed many good editions of the Fathers, etc. But I humbly ask pardon for giving your Lordship this delay, the whole being unanimously submitted to your wisdom and discretion.

Randolph returned in about a year, having successfully accomplished the mission, and wearing the honor of knighthood as an evidence of his zeal. In 1734 the legislature gave the college, for the remainder of the term of twenty-one years, the whole of the duty of one penny per gallon on liquors, pro-

[15] Edmund Gibson, chancellor of the college, was bishop of London from 1723-1748. [16] William Wake was archbishop from 1716-1737.

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vided that some part thereof should be spent in books. A book, with the printed label, "The Gift of the General Assembly of Virginia in the year 1734," is still preserved in the college library.

In December, 1739, Williamsburg was visited by the founder of Methodism, Rev. George Whitefield, and the following extract from his journal shows that he had no bad opinion of the place:

Friday, Decemb. 14. [1739] Left Colonel W[hiting's]'s, about Seven in the Morning, pass'd through Gloucester Town, a very little Place. Crossed a Ferry a Mile over. Dined at York, a Place somewhat larger, and reached Williamsburgh, the Metropolis of Virginia, by the Evening. The Gentleman before-mentioned was so kind as to accompany us; with him I discoursed much of the Things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.

Oh that the Lord may make him an Israelite *indeed!*

Saturday, Dec. 15. Waited on, and afterwards (at his Invitation) dined with the Governor, who received me most courteously. Paid my Respects to the Rev. Mr. Blair the Commissary of Virginia. His Discourse was Savoury, and such as tended to the Use of edifying. He received me with Joy, asked me to preach, and Wished my Stay was to be longer.—Under God he has been chiefly instrumental in raising a beautiful College in Williamsburgh, in which is a Foundation for about eight Scholars, a President, two Masters, and Professors in the several Sciences. Here the Gentlemen of Virginia send their Children; and, as far as I could learn by Enquiry, they are near in the same Order, and under the same Regulation and Discipline, as in our Universities at Home. The present Masters came from Oxford. Two of them I find were my contemporaries. I rejoice in seeing such a Place in America. May learning Christ be made the one End of all their Studies, and other Arts and Sciences only introduced and pursued as subservient to that Excellency of Knowledge!

Sunday, Dec. 16. Preached in the Morning (as I afterwards was informed) to the Satisfaction and Profit of many. Several Gentlemen came from York, 14 Miles off, to hear, and were desirous of my going back to preach at their Town on the Morrow.—A large Audience (I found) might have been expected, could timely Notice have been given; but being in great Haste, and there being no Sermon customarily in the Afternoon, I dined with the Commissary, who entertained me and my Friends with great Civility, and left Williamsburgh in the Afternoon, promising, if possible, to visit these parts again some Time in the Summer. *But future Things belong to thee, O God!*

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From June 1740, to July, 1741, Dr. Blair, as president of the council, acted as chief executive in the absence of Sir William Gooch on the Carthegenian expedition. The end of a useful life occurred on April 18, 1743, just half a century after the college charter was obtained. Dr. Blair's remains were buried at Jamestown, where fragments of the tombstones of himself and wife, Sarah Harrison, placed there in 1752, by his nephew, Hon. John Blair, may still be seen. Governor William Gooch thus communicated Dr. Blair's death to the bishop of London: "The Commissary Blair died the 18th of the last month. . . The deceased had a rupture almost forty years, which, turning to a mortification, killed him, but such was his constitution that he struggled with the conqueror ten days after the Doctor had declared that he could not live ten hours. He has left his books and £300 to the college, and to his nephew and his children near £10,000 besides other small legacies."

From the time of the transfer to Dr. Blair's death, the following changes occurred in the faculty: Soon after that event, Mr. Cocke died or resigned, and, thereupon, Rev. John Fox was made master of the Indian school. In 1732 Alexander Irvine, who died that year, was succeeded by Joshua Fry as professor of natural philosophy, and mathematics, whereupon William Stith was elected to the vacancy thereby created in the grammar school. In 1737 Rev. John Fox resigned his office of master of the Indian school and Rev. Robert Barret took his place; while Thos. Dawson, brother of Prof. William Dawson, was made usher of the grammar school. The same year Joshua Fry resigned the mathematical chair, and John Graeme, who had been in the service of Alexander Spotswood, was elected to fill the vacancy. In March, 1738, Edward Ford was elected master of the grammar school, and Rev. Thomas Dawson master of the Indian school. Finally, in 1742, Rev. Thomas Robinson was made master of the grammar school. Most, if not all of these gentlemen were bachelors of arts of Oxford University.

William Dawson, D. D., who had spent nine years at Oxford, and had served at William and Mary as professor of

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moral philosophy since 1729, succeeded Dr. Blair in his offices as president of the college, commissary to the bishop of London, and member of the governor's council. His brother, Rev. Thomas Dawson, who had read prayers for Dr. Blair in his infirm state, was elected to succeed him as rector of Bruton church.

Three years later the capitol at the other end of Duke of Gloucester street, burned down, and for several years the college furnished quarters to the homeless legislature and government officials.

The spirit of dissent, under the influence of Samuel Davies, was now become general, but Dawson and Davies were always excellent friends, and the former, at the council board, opposed any persecution.

By the charter, the college had the right to appoint all the county surveyors, and in 1749 George Washington received the appointment for Fairfax County. The original bond executed by Washington for the faithful performance of his duties provided that he should pay to the college treasurer one-sixth part of all his "fees and profits for surveying."

In 1744 William Parks published another edition of the statutes, but I have never seen a copy of this issue.

The following changes occurred in the faculty during Dr. Dawson's term as president: April 10, 1744, Rev. Roscoe Cole was elected usher of the grammar school in the place of William Yates resigned. March 28, 1747, Roscoe Cole resigned, and John Dixon took his place. November 20, 1744, William Preston, a master of arts of Oxford, qualified as professor of moral philosophy, and, in 1749, Richard Graham, another Oxford graduate, succeeded John Graeme as professor of natural philosophy and mathematics.

Dr. Dawson died July 20, 1752, and was succeeded as president of the college by his brother-in-law, Rev. William Stith, A. M., the distinguished historian.

Mr. Stith was a native of Virginia, and was educated first in the grammar school of the college and later at Oxford University. As he had warmly opposed Governor Dinwiddie when he levied a pistole for land grants, that magistrate threw his

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influence against his appointment as commissary, and Rev. Thomas Dawson received that place.

Stith's administration was a very brief one, and was noted chiefly for the meeting of the clergy that occurred in the college in 1754. Commissary Thomas Dawson was allowed "the use of the hall and the great room" for the purpose. The principal result of the meeting was to establish a fund for providing for the widows and orphans of deceased clergymen.

In 1754 the faculty consisted of Rev. William Stith, president; Rev. Thomas Dawson, master of the Indian school; Rev. Thomas Robinson, master of the grammar school; William Preston, professor of moral philosophy; Rev. Richard Graham, professor of natural philosophy; and Rev. John Camm, professor of divinity. There were 75 scholars and students boarding in college, of whom eight were Indians. Probably forty more students resided in town, which would make the total attendance about 115. Board was £13 per session, and eight of the more wealthy scholars had negro boys to wait on them; fifteen boys had scholarships.

Mr. Stith died September 19, 1755, and he was succeeded by Commissary Rev. Thomas Dawson, whose salary as president was raised from £150 sterling to £200 sterling. In him the offices of president, commissary, member of the council and rector of Bruton church were once more united. Rev. Emanuel Jones, of Gloucester County, Virginia, was elected master of the Indian school, to take the place of President Thomas Dawson. Mr. Dawson's term was rife with dissensions and discontent; for there was not only war with France, but fierce wranglings in the colony, church and college.

The domestic troubles began with an act of assembly in 1755, which made the salaries of the preachers payable in money at two pennies per pound of their rate in tobacco. The act bore hard upon the ministers, and Governor Dinwiddie was asked to veto it, but declined, though saying it was unjust and illegal. "What can I do? If I refuse to approve it, I shall have the People on my back." Several of the clergy of the college—Camm, Preston, Robinson and Graham—then tried to get Mr. Dawson to call a convention of the brethren, but he

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BOOK PLATE OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM STITH.

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viewed the matter as the governor did, and declined. As a consequence, there was much bitter talk, and the board of visitors, sympathizing with President Dawson, removed Camm, Robinson and Graham from their offices, while Preston, to prevent a like treatment, returned to England in the summer of 1757.

In 1758 another "Two Penny Act" was passed, and again a deputation of clergymen went to the palace, but Lieutenant-Governor Fauquier, who was now in office, was even more unsatisfactory than Dinwiddie. He replied that the question with him was not whether the law was "just or unjust, contrary or not contrary to his instructions, but whether the people wanted it." He sided with the assembly; and the clergy, seeing that no justice could be had in Virginia, sent John Camm to England to present their cause to the king's privy council. He remained there eighteen months, and returned in 1760 with a disallowance of the act; but, wearied by his long voyage at sea, he did not come at once to Williamsburg, but staid at Hampton to rest himself. When, after a week, with his two friends, Rev. Thomas Warrington and Rev. William Robinson, Camm presented himself at the palace, and handed Fauquier the instructions of the privy council, the following colloquy ensued:

Governor: Were these papers deliver'd to you open? *Camm*: Yes, Sir. *Governor*: In whose possession have they been in all this time? *Camm*: In mine, Sir. *Governor*: I shall write to the Board of Trade, and Lords of the Council, to enquire about these things. *Camm*: Your Honor may do as you please. *Governor*: I am well acquainted with the calumnies you have thrown on me. *Camm*: I am willing to face your Honor's Informers. *Governor*: I am above board and quarrel with people to their face. *Camm*: Your Honor never quarrelled with me to my face before, and I do not come to quarrel with your Honor now. *Governor*: You thought proper to visit Mr. Warrington before you waited on me. *Camm*: But I escaped no better treatment from you. *Governor*: You are very ignorant or very impudent, take which alternative you please. You are a foolish Negotiator; and I order you never to enter my doors again. *We were going to withdraw. Governor*: Stay—Westmore (speaking to one of his white servants), call my negroes, call all my negroes." Two negro men appeared. Then he called for a negro boy, who, likewise, came. "Here," says he, "look at him;

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look at him (pointing at Mr. Camm), that you may know him again. If ever he should come to ask for me, suffer him not to enter my doors."

According to Mr. Robinson, who wrote this account, the governor appeared "by word and gesture" in a violent passion, while Mr. Camm bore his treatment with the greatest calmness and patience. To the disappointment of the clergy, Fauquier construed the order to mean a repeal of the "Two Penny Act," not *ab initio,* but from the date of the order; and to make matters worse, when, soon after, they made application to Commissary Dawson for a meeting of the clergy, he again refused.

The college at this time was in a very sad condition. By the removal of the professors, the college exercises were practically suspended, and several parents sent their children to the new college at Philadelphia. The two sides indulged in mutual recrimination, and among the charges laid at the door of Rev. William Preston and Rev. Thomas Robinson was the fact of their marrying and keeping, "contrary to all rules of seats of learning, their wives, children and servants in college, which occasioned much confusion and disturbance." On the other hand, it was alleged by William Robinson, Camm's friend, that Commissary Dawson was a mere tool of the governor, unwilling to speak out for fear of losing his salary. According to him, Dawson was often intoxicated, a fact which, to avoid the disagreeable proof of, he confessed before the college board, at which time he had the honor of having an excuse made for him by his friend, Governor Fauquier, who said that it was no wonder he had resorted to drink, since he had been teased to desperation by persons of his own cloth.

In 1758 William Hunter published another issue of the statutes of the college, a copy of which is preserved in the Lenox Library. The chief changes made were in the salaries. Thus, the president was given £200 instead of £150, and the grammar master £150, instead of £80, annually. The removed professors took an appeal to England, and, in the meantime, in the early part of 1758, Rev. Mr. Goronwy Owen was elected by the visitors, master of the grammar school, and Mr. William Small assumed the duties of professor of natural philoso-

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LIST OF STUDENTS, SCHOLARS, AND THEIR NEGRO BOYS, Boarding in College in 1754. (From the Bursar's Book.)

Due at Lady Day 1754.

23.	[illegible]			
23.	Robert Armistead			
23.	William Meredith			
23.	William Russell			
24.	Frederick Mumford			
24.	Theodorick Bland			
24.	Peter & John Wall			
25.	Peter Lee	13.		
25.	George & Carter Braxton	16.	9	
25.	George Slater	13.		
25.	James Mayo	10.	16.	
25.	William Browne	8.	6.	
25.	James Bradby	9	13	
25.	John Walker	8.	14.	6
26.	Charles & Edward Carter	17.	16	
26.	John & Peter Whiting	22	18	
26.	Wilson Cary	13		
26.	Jordan Brooking	1	1	1
27.	Lunsford & John Lomax	22	13	
27.	Randolph Bell	13.		
27.	Charles Thruston	13.		
28.	William Selden	13		
28.	Josselin Jenkins	13.	—	
28.	[illegible]	9	18	6
29.	Peter Bland	13		
29.	John Peter	13		
29.	Daniel Mooney	13.		
30.	John Tarleton	9	15.	
30.	Richard Johnson	12		
30.	Clement & Thomas Reade	13.	3.	1
30.	Robert Tucker	10.	9	10
30.	Nicholas Lewis	13	—	—
30.	William Ball	8	13	4
31.	John Hoy & Rob. Patterson	22		
31.	Robert Wallace	11.	10	11
31.	Peter Mayo	4	16.	8
32.	Wythe Coles	11	5	7
32.	Samuel Cobbs	10		
32.	John Nelson	8	1	
33.	Nicholas [illegible]	8	6	
33.	John Ice	8	3	
33.	[illegible]	7	3	

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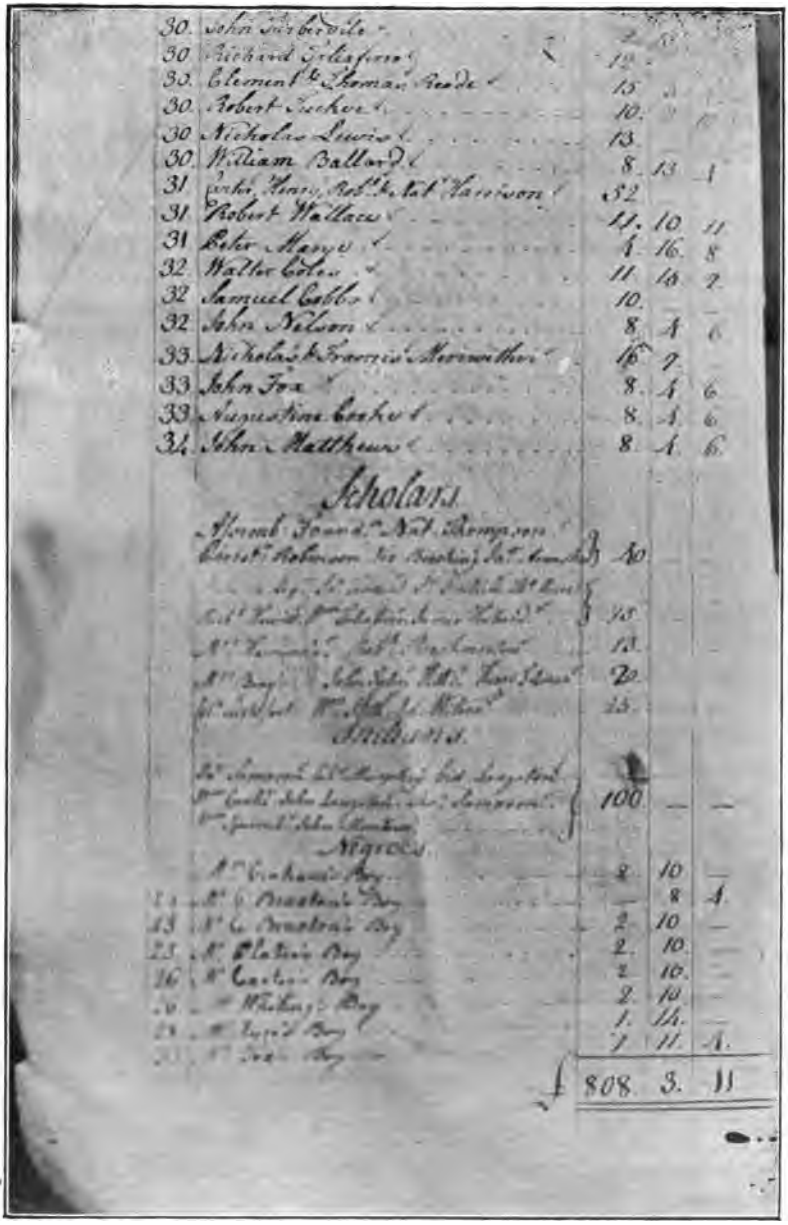

		£	s.	d.
30.	John Turberville	2.	8.	[illegible]
30	Richard Taliaferro	12.		
30.	Clement & Thomas Reade	15.	[illegible]	[illegible]
30.	Robert Tucker	10.	[illegible]	[illegible]
30	Nicholas Lewis	13.		
30.	William Ballard	8.	13	4
31	Carter, Henry, Robt. & Nat. Harrison	32.		
31	Robert Wallace	14.	10	11
31	Peter Marye	4.	16.	8
32.	Walter Coles	11.	14.	7.
32	Samuel Cobbs	10.		—
32	John Nelson	8.	4	6
33.	Nicholas & Francis Meriwether	16.	7.	—
33	John Fox	8.	4	6.
33.	Augustine Cooke	8.	4	6
34.	John Matthews	8.	4.	6.
	Scholars			
	[illegible]	40	—	—
	[illegible]	45.	—	—
	[illegible]	13.		—
	[illegible]	20.		—
	[illegible]	25.		—
	[illegible]			
	[illegible]	100.	—	—
	Negroes			
	Mr. [illegible] Boy	2.	10	—
23	Mr. [illegible] Boy	—	8	4.
23	Mr. [illegible] Boy	2.	10	—
23.	Mr. [illegible] Boy	2.	10.	—
26	Mr. [illegible] Boy	2	10.	—
30.	Mr. [illegible] Boy	2.	10.	—
23	Mr. [illegible] Boy	1.	14.	—
30	Mr. [illegible] Boy	7	11.	4.
	£	808.	3.	11

phy and mathematics. Mr. Owen, who was a graduate of Jesus College, Oxford, and "premier poet" of Wales, was a man of great learning, but he did not remain long. The cause of his resignation is attributed, by his biographer, to overfondness for the wine cup, which induced him and Mr. Rowe to lead the scholars in a row with the boys of the town.[17] This conduct seems to have so exasperated the visitors that, on August 14, 1760, they entered an order that Mr. Rowe "should remove himself and his effects at once from the college." Mr. Owen, by resignation, probably saved himself from a similar fate, and he was soon afterwards nominated by Governor Fauquier, minister to St. Andrews parish, in Brunswick, one of the frontier counties. It is probably true, however, that the Two Penny Act had something to do with the severance of his relations with the college, as we are told that the election of Rev. William Webb, as successor of Mr. Owen, was owing to his lack of sympathy with the clergy on that question. In June, 1761, Mr. Richard Graham, who had been removed from the chair of natural philosophy and mathematics in 1758, was elected to fill the vacancy in the chair of moral philosophy, and he qualified accordingly, Mr. Andrew Burnaby having declined the position.

In 1759 the general assembly added to the revenue of the college by a tax on peddlers.

Mr. Dawson died in December, 1761, and his obituary in the *Maryland Gazette* sounds very much like the work of his friend, Fauquier. After a eulogy upon his "moderation, meekness, forgiveness and long-suffering," it goes on to say that "it is much to be feared he fell a Victim to the repeated marks of Ingratitude and Malice which he, unhappy man, frequently experienced in his passage through this state of Probation."

[17] In a letter written by Philip Ludwell from London, November 8, 1760, occurs the following: "I hear many disagreeable things from Virginia as the battle of the scholars, the regiments laying down their arms, etc., but none with more concern than that the com'y was presented by the grand jury for drunkenness. How sad a wound does Religion receive, like Cæsar, from those who by all Tyes are bound to be her best friends and supporters."

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A Page from the Faculty Book,
Showing the Diploma awarded to Benjamin Franklin.

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A Page from the Faculty Book,
Showing Autograph of Rev. Thomas Dawson.

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Despite, however, turmoils and dissensions, the college flourished and did a great work. Among the professors, William Small, professor of natural philosophy and mathematics, was perhaps the most original genius. After the removal of Mr. Rowe he also discharged the duties of the moral philosophy for a year, and he made great departure from the practice universally prevalent at that day of memory lessons, by being the first professor at William and Mary, and, it is believed, the first in the United States, to adopt the modern lecture system. While we have no exact details of the methods of instruction pursued by him, the enthusiastic language of Jefferson and John Page leaves no room to doubt that his instruction was broad and varied. The first says of him that "he fixed my destinies in life," and the other calls him "the illustrious professor of mathematics, afterwards well known as the great Dr. Small, of Birmingham, the darling friend of Darwin." His physical apparatus, which he selected for the college, was perhaps the best and most complete of any in the colonies.

It may be said that law and natural science absorbed the attention of the founders of the American commonwealths. As the controversy with the British crown, being one of strict legal right, produced an unprecedented popular demand for legal knowledge, so the free spirit engendered by the study of the natural sciences made men restless under the old order of things in church and State. Virginia, under Jefferson and Small, clearly took the lead along both lines. In 1762 Dr. Small went back to England, where he aided James Watt in his experiments with the steam engine, and died at Birmingham in the year 1775. Among the other students, besides Jefferson and Page, who enjoyed the influence of Small, were Dabney Carr, Walter Jones, John Walker, James McClurg, Robert Spotswood, Champion Travis, Edmund Pendleton, Jr., and William Fleming.

After the death of Mr. Dawson, the board appointed William Yates, son of the pious and godly Bartholomew Yates, president; and the office of commissary went to Rev. William Robinson. Mr. Yates was educated at the college, where he

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was usher of the grammar school in 1744, and afterwards minister of Ware parish in Gloucester County and teacher of a celebrated school in that county. The fight over the "Two Penny Act" went on; and in 1763 Mr. Camm succeeded in obtaining an order from the privy council for the reinstatement of the deprived professors, Richard Graham and himself, to the chairs from which they had been removed by the board in 1757. Mr. Graham resumed the duties of professor of natural philosophy and Mr. Camm those of professor of divinity. Suits were brought by several of the ministers against the vestries for the losses incurred in their salaries, and in 1763 Rev. Mr. Maury's suit came up for trial in the county court of Hanover. The clergy had much the best of the argument, but the people were represented by Patrick Henry, who looked to the principle lying at the bottom of things, which was that a church establishment was morally wrong. Henry's speech was an *ad captandum* affair, full of glittering generalities, but eloquent and forcible because addressed to the fears and interests of the people. He praised the "Two Penny Act" as salutary, and went so far as to say that the king, by disallowing such a law, became a tyrant, instead of father of the people, and that his order in council, being against right, was without force or validity. Several persons cried out "treason, treason," but the jury brought in a verdict of one penny damages. The time for revolution and independence was fully come, and there was no resisting it.

Rev. William Yates died in 1764, and there was a warm contest between Richard Graham, the professor of natural philosophy, and James Horrocks, the young master of the grammar school, for the vacant presidency. By virtue of his seniority and experience, the office, under ordinary circumstances, would have gone to Graham, but the visitors had already experienced considerable trouble with him. They, therefore, preferred Horrocks, who, in a short time after his election, contrived to heap upon himself, in addition, the high offices both of commissary and of a member of the council of state. He was president seven years, during which disputes ran as high as ever in the college.

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KNOW all Men by these Presents, That We John Markham & George Gravis of the County of Chesterfield Gent. are held and firmly bound unto the President, and Masters of the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, in the Sum of One Hundred Pounds Sterling; to be paid unto the said President, and Masters, their Successors, or Attorneys; To the Payment whereof, well and truly to be made, We bind ourselves, and every of us, our and each of our Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, jointly and severally, firmly, by these Presents. Sealed with our Seals, and dated this Twenty fifth Day of May, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty Six.

THE Condition of this Obligation is such, That whereas the above bound John Markham is constituted and appointed, by the said President, and Masters to be Surveyor of Gravis County, aforesaid; if therefore the said John Markham shall render unto the Treasurer of the said College, for the Time being, a true and faithful Account upon Oath, of all Surveys, Steps, and Lines, made by him the said John Markham, and what Fees the Parties employing him pay, or are to pay for the same; and Yearly, in April General Court, pay to the said Treasurer, for the Use of the said College, one Sixth Part of all his Fees and Profits for Surveying, at the Rate of Eight Shillings current Money for Eight Hundred Thus this Obligation to be void; otherwise to remain in full Force and Virtue.

Signed, Sealed, and Delivered to the Presence of

John Markham

[illegible]

County Surveyor's Bond.

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The visitors insisted upon their right to forbid the professors from taking charge of churches in the vicinity, and to remove them when necessary, and upon a general direct control over the finances. These powers the professors denied as contrary to the authority of the charter, and joined in a memorial to the chancellor, the bishop of London, on the subject.

In 1764 John Blair, Jr., the bursar of the college, made a report on the finances for the previous ten years, by which it appeared that the total average annual receipts of the college in current money, were £1,936, 14s. 6¾d., equal probably to $30,000 in present values. The total expenditures were £1,593, 3s. 10¼d. The Brafferton rents yielded in current money annually £121, 12s., and the greatest single source of income enjoyed by the college was the tax on liquors, which produced *communibus annis*, £817.

In 1769 Mr. Camm, professor of divinity, and Mr. Josiah Johnson, master of the grammar school, married, and took up their residence in Williamsburg. Thereupon, the visitors threatened to remove them both, but finally compromised by fulminating a decree that "all professors and masters hereafter to be appointed be constantly resident in ye college, and upon the marriage of such professors or masters that his professorship be immediately vacated."

The courtship of Parson Camm is a counterpart of that of John Alden in New England history, and is one of the choicest incidents in the college annals. The romance of his life came to him when he had attained the mature age of fifty-one, in the following manner:

Among Camm's parishioners, baptized by him in his early rectorship of York Hampton parish, was Miss Betsy Hansford, a relation of Hansford, the rebel and martyr of Bacon's day. A young friend, who had wooed Miss Betsy without success, persuaded the worthy parson to aid him with his eloquence. He called upon her, and among other authorities quoted the Bible, which enjoined matrimony as one of the duties of life. His persuasions had no effect, however, and the young lady finally suggested that, if the parson would go home and look at

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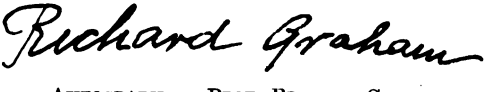
ACCOUNT OF THOMAS JEFFERSON,
In the Book of the Bursar, John Blair, Jr.

AUTOGRAPH OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM YATES.



AUTOGRAPH OF PROF. RICHARD GRAHAM.

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2 Samuel xii. 7, he might be able to divine the reason for her refusal. Mr. Camm went home and "searched the scriptures," when he found these significant words staring him in the face: "And Nathan said to David, *thou art the man.*" The sequel is told in an item of the *Virginia Gazette* announcing the marriage of Rev. John Camm and Miss Betsy Hansford.

In 1770 Lord Botetourt presented to the college funds sufficient to establish two gold medals, to be given respectively to the best scholar in the classics and the best in philosophy.[18]

The following, taken from the bursar's books, represents the pay-roll of the institution in 1770, but the master of the grammar school and the two philosophy professors also received considerable sums from fees. The salaries, moreover, were largely augmented by engagements on the part of the professors, as ministers in the neighboring parishes, and President Horrocks, who was commissary, member of the council and rector of Bruton Church, as well as president, received altogether £550—equivalent, probably, to $10,000.

ACCOUNT OF SALARIES IN 1770 IN STERLING MONEY.

President, (Rev. James Horrocks),	£200
Two professors of divinity, (Rev. John Camm and Rev. John Dixon), one hundred pounds apiece,	200
Professor of moral philosophy, (Rev. Samuel Henley),	100
Professor of natural philosophy, (Rev. Thos. Gwatkin),	100
Professor of humanity or master of the grammar school, (Rev. Josiah Johnson),	150
First usher, (James Emmerson),	75
Second usher, (James Marshall),	40
Master of the Indian school, (Emmanuel Jones), from the Brafferton fund,	50
Master of the Indian school, (Emmanuel Jones), from the college fund,	25

[18] See *William and Mary College Quarterly Hist. Mag.*, IV., 263. Eight of these medals were awarded, but they stopped with the Revolution. They were the first collegiate prizes offered in the United States. The dies from which they were struck are still the property of the College.

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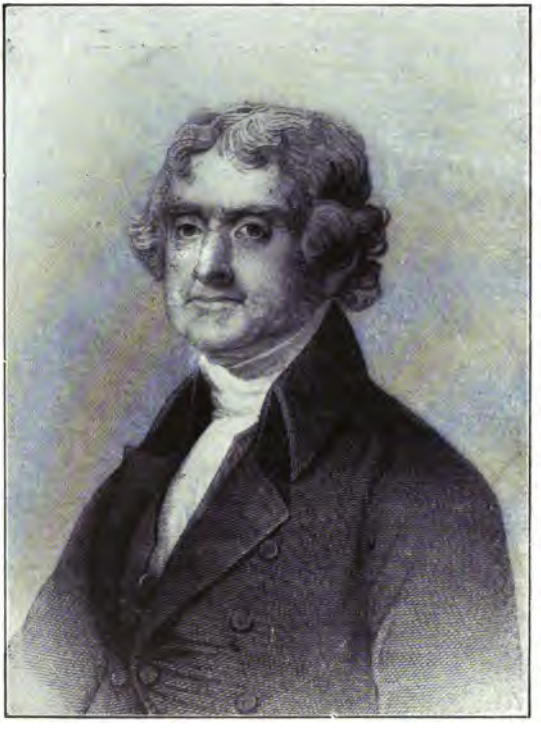

THOMAS JEFFERSON,
President of the United States.
Student in 1760–1762.

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Bursar, (John Blair, Jr.,),	50
Gardener, (James Nicholson),	30
Housekeeper, (Margaret Garrett),	30
Clerk of the visitation, (Matthew Davenport),	20
Librarian, (Emmanuel Jones),	10
Clerk to the society, (faculty), Emmanuel Jones,	10
Janitor, (James Nicholson),	5
Surveyor of woodcutters, (James Nicholson),	5
Writing master, (Matthew Davenport),	30
Two students lately created, (Edmund Randolph and William Leigh),	30
Chaplain, (the professors in turn),	50
	£1,210

The number of scholars and students boarding in college this year (1770) was 85, which would seem to indicate a total attendance of about 120, counting the boarders in town. There were probably about 70 scholars in the grammar and Indian schools and fifty students in the philosophy school.

Hitherto, a preliminary training in Latin and Greek in the grammar school had been deemed essential to study in the philosophy school, but in 1770 the visitors made a great departure by authorizing, against the protest of the faculty, "All such youth, whether resident in or out of the College, who have acquired a competent knowledge of common or vulgar Arithmetic, & whose Parents or Guardians may desire it, be received into the Mathematical school."

In 1771 President Horrocks started a new upheaval by calling a convention of the clergy to consider the question of an American episcopate; and it was believed by some that Horrocks' ambition was for himself to wear the mitre. Only ten of the clergy, however, responded to the call, and of these, two, Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, professor of natural philosophy, and Rev. Samuel Henley, professor of moral philosophy, so vigorously opposed the proposition as to receive the thanks of the assembly. Mr. Horrocks shortly afterwards sailed to England with his wife, leaving John Camm to represent him as

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BOTETOURT MEDAL.

AUTOGRAPH OF PRESIDENT JOHN CAMM.

AUTOGRAPH OF PROFESSOR SAMUEL HENLEY.

AUTOGRAPH OF PRESIDENT J. HORROCKS.

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president of the college, Rev. William Willie as commissary, and Rev. Mr. Henley as rector of Bruton parish. He died on the way over, however, at Oporto, Portugal, March 27, 1772, and John Camm succeeded him in all the above-named offices except the last.

Camm was the last of the colonial presidents of William and Mary, and he was born in 1718. His father was Thomas Camm, of Hornsea, England. He matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge University, June 6, 1738, and on August 24, 1749, qualified as professor of divinity at William and Mary; and about the same time he was elected minister of York-Hampton parish. He had been, as we have seen, a staunch champion of the rights of the clergy, and, despite the popular verdict in Hanover, took the question up, in his own case, on appeal to the privy council, but at the time this body did not wish to offend the colonists and dismissed the case in 1767, under pretence that the action had been laid wrong. Still unconquered, Camm proposed, against the advice of Commissary Horrocks, to appeal another case to England so as to compel a decision, but nothing came out of it. Though he certainly never bowed to the "powers that be," he appears, on the death of Horrocks, to have succeeded to the presidency of the college without trouble or opposition.

In April, 1773, died Rev. Josiah Johnson, master of the grammar school, and he was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, while Rev. James Madison, a student of the college, to whom the Botetourt medal for classical learning had been awarded in May, 1772, assumed the chair of natural philosophy and mathematics.

The quarrel between the mother country and the colonies became acute, and all sorts of rumors flew about. Mr. Camm, as a councillor, was a great friend of Lord Dunmore, the governor, and sympathized with him in his troubles. It being reported to the faculty that Lord Dunmore intended to resign his seat in the board of visitors, he and Rev. Thomas Gwatkin were sent to the palace "humbly to request that he will continue to be a visitor and governor of the college." The removal of

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PROMINENT ALUMNI,

Landon Carter.

Archibald Cary. John Page.

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the gunpowder from the magazine plunged the college into great excitement; and the students made haste to arm themselves, and the usher, James Innis, who raised a military company in Williamsburg, was greatly condemned by Camm and the rest of the faculty for inattention to duty.

In May, 1775, Henley and Madison obtained leave and sailed for England, and in June, Professor Gwatkin, as chaplain to Lady Dunmore, shared her fortunes, and departed also. The only one of them who probably had any idea of returning was Madison, who went to England for ordination as minister. Henley became afterwards greatly celebrated as the translator of Beckford's remarkable romance, called Vathek. In September James Innis, who had been absent three months, on account of military engagements, was removed from his position as usher by President Camm and the senior professor, Emmanuel Jones, who were all the professors then at college. In November Rev. John Bracken, minister of the church in Williamsburg, qualified as master of the grammar school; and not long after Mr. Madison returned from England (where he had been admitted to holy orders), and resumed his duties as professor of natural philosophy and mathematics.

The College Seal.

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JAMES MONROE,
President of the United States.
Student in 1775.

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After the American Revolution.

December 5, 1776, the Phi Beta Kappa Society, the first intercollegiate fraternity in the United States, organized, at the Raleigh Tavern, by electing as president John Heath, a student from Northumberland County, afterwards a member of congress, and as secretary, Thomas Smith, of Gloucester County, afterwards a member of the legislature, and of the State convention of 1788. March 12, 1779, Captain John Marshall, then a student of the college, became a member, and about the same time Elisha Parmalee, a student from Connecticut, was granted permission to establish chapters at Harvard and Yale.

In the spring of 1777 the Tory sympathies of President Camm, Emmanuel Jones and John Dixon brought them into difficulty with the visitors, as a result of which the two latter resigned, and Mr. Camm, denying the authority of the board, was displaced. He retired to his country seat at the half-way house in York County, and lived there till 1779, when he died. He is still represented by descendants of great respectability and influence in Virginia.

A new order of things came in with James Madison, who was elected Camm's successor. He was the son of John Madison, clerk of Augusta County, and was second cousin of the illustrious president of the United States of the same name. He went first to an academy in Maryland, and in 1768 entered at William and Mary College, where he graduated in 1772, receiving the Botetourt medal for distinction in the classics. In 1773 he was chosen professor of natural philosophy and mathematics, and in the spring of 1775 went to England for ordination. After ordination he remained there till the latter part of 1776, studying under Thomas Cavallo, a distinguished lecturer on natural science. Madison was as warm a republican as Camm was a loyalist, and it is said of him that in his sermons he would never speak of heaven as a kingdom, but as that

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JOHN MARSHALL.
Chief Justice of the United States.
Student in 1779.

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"great republic where there was no distinction of rank, and where all men were free and equal."

When, in the spring of 1777, he was elected president, he was only 28 years of age, and so the statute requiring the incumbent to be not less than 30 years, had to be suspended. For two years the faculty consisted of President Madison, Robert Andrews and John Bracken, who shared all the chairs between them. The students, who averaged annually about 40 young men, were enlisted in a company, of which Madison was captain.[19] Nevertheless, Madison succeeded admirably in sustaining the interests of the college, for the exercises of the college were suspended only for a few months during the Revolution—a short time before and a short time after the siege of Yorktown.

In June, 1781, Lord Cornwallis arrived with his army in Williamsburg, and made the president's house his headquarters. And shortly after his surrender in October, the house was occupied by the French and much damaged by a fire, but at once repaired at the expense of the French army.

In the meantime, Mr. Jefferson, as one of the committee of revisers, prepared for the new commonwealth a scheme of general education, comprising first elementary schools, secondly colleges for a middle degree of instruction, and thirdly, a university for teaching the sciences "generally and in their highest degree." By a bill especially designed to meet the last object, he amended the charter of William and Mary and enlarged its sphere of operations.

The bill substituted more certain revenues for its support, changed the number of visitors from eighteen to five, and instead of the "president and six professors" provided for eight, one of whom should also be appointed president. The report of the revisers, although submitted to the assembly in 1779, was not printed until 1796, when only the bill relating to public schools was enacted into law, but it proved ineffective as amended.

[19] The officers of the company were: James Madison, captain; Granville Smith, first lieutenant; William Nelson, Jr., second lieutenant, and Daniel Fitzhugh, ensign.

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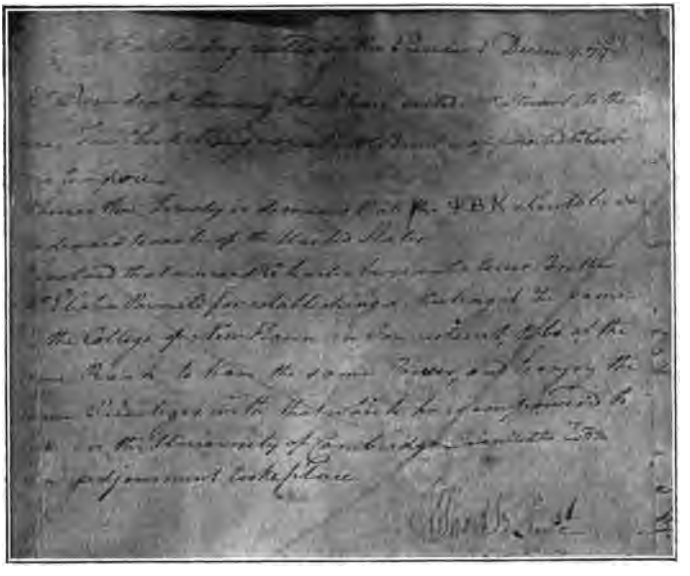

A Page from the Phi Beta Kappa Society Records,
Signed by the President, William Short, afterwards minister to Holland,
and showing the grant of a charter to Yale University.

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But while Jefferson's bill for amending the charter of William and Mary was not passed, he was chosen a member of the board of visitors of the college and effected during his stay in Williamsburg, as governor, most important changes in its curriculum. In connection with President Madison he induced the visitors on December 4, 1779, to abolish the grammar school and the two divinity schools, and in their places to introduce schools of modern languages, of municipal law, and of medicine. By this arrangement the college was made a university, the first to be organized in the United States; and it became also the first to have a chair of modern languages and a chair of municipal law, while its chair of medicine was only second in time to that of the college of Philadelphia. The faculty was composed of "James Madison, D. D., president and professor of natural philosophy and mathematics; George Wythe, LL. D., professor of law and police; James McClurg, professor of anatomy and medicine; and Robert Andrews, A. M., professor of moral philosophy, the law of nature and nations, and of the fine arts; and Charles Bellini, professor of modern languages."

This was a small faculty, but each of the members was a host in himself. President Madison was a fine lecturer, and his talents were shown to their full advantage, when in 1784 he was relieved of the duty of teaching mathematics and made professor of moral philosophy, international law, etc., in addition to natural philosophy, which he always retained. We are told that he was the first to introduce into the college a regular system of lectures on political economy; and in the department of natural philosophy he excelled, his enthusiasm throwing a peculiar charm over his lectures. There is reason to believe that Adam Smith's great work, *Inquiry into the Nature and Sources of the Wealth of Nations,* and Vattell's *Law of Nations* were taught at William and Mary earlier than at any other college in the United States. President Madison was indefatigable in his lectures, and when in good health, is known to have been engaged in his lecture-room from four to six hours a day.

George Wythe, the professor of law had, like Madison, been a student at the college, and for thirty-five years had held the

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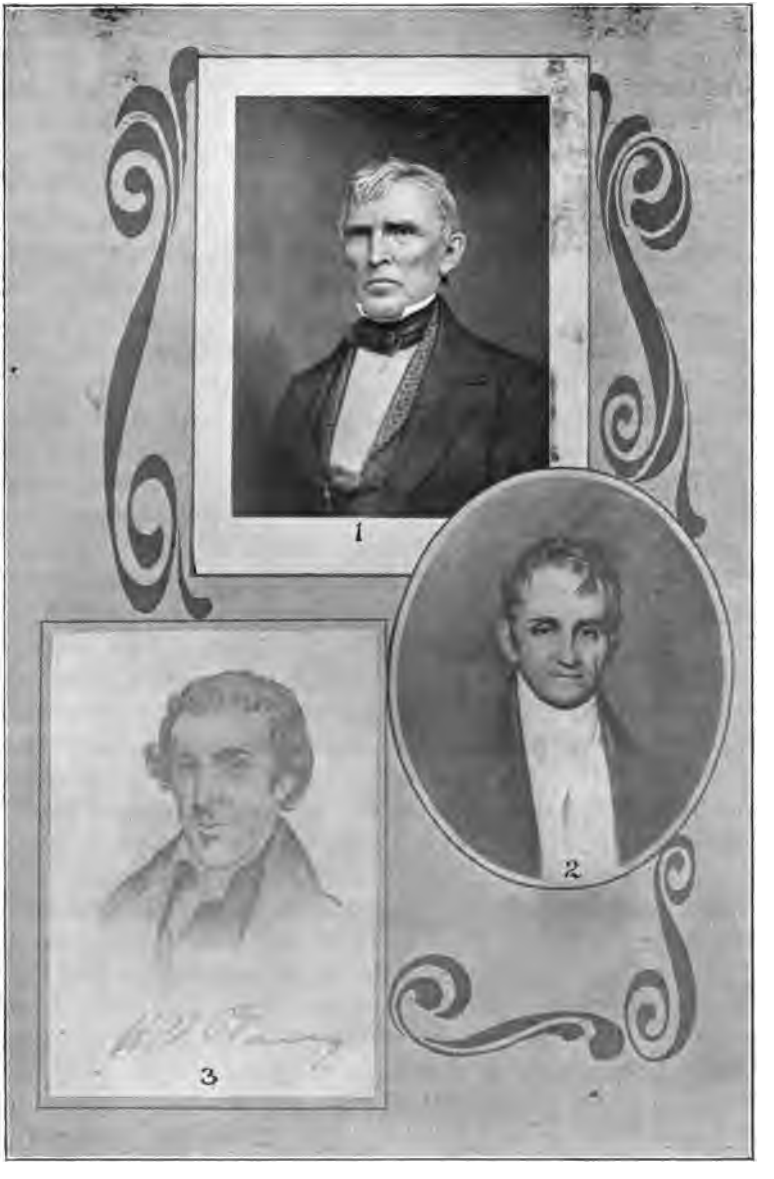

PROMINENT ALUMNI.

1. John J. Crittenden. 2. Joseph C. Cabell. 3 William T. Barry.

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first place at the bar of the State. Mr. Jefferson called him "the pride of the institution," and "one of the greatest men of the age, always distinguished by the most spotless virtue." He gave lectures regularly on municipal and constitutional law, and in 1780 instituted a system of moot courts and moot legislatures, by which he trained the forty young men under his care in public speaking and parliamentary procedure. He made use of the deserted capitol, at the other end of the town, for this purpose, and he and the other professors would sit as judges. Being elected, in 1789, sole chancellor of Virginia, he resigned and moved, in 1791, to Richmond, and was succeeded by St. George Tucker, a judge of the general court, and whose "Commentaries on Blackstone" was the first American text-book on the law.[20]

James McClurg, the professor of medicine, had also been a student of the college, and had accomplished his medical education at the university of Edinburgh and on the continent of Europe. By his poem on "The Belles of Williamsburg," he acquired a literary reputation in addition to his reputation as a physician of eminence.

Robert Andrews, the professor of moral philosophy till 1784 and then the professor of mathematics, was a graduate of the college of Philadelphia and very active and useful. His mathematical ability was thought so considerable that he served with President Madison on the commission to define the boundary line of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

In the modern languages, French, Italian, Spanish and German were taught, and the professor was Charles Bellini, an Italian, who in 1773 came to Albemarle County, as I believe, with Philip Mazzei, to introduce the culture of the grape, the olive and other fruits of Italy. His abilities have been favorably commented upon by Mr. Jefferson, and the fact of his connection with the college so early as 1779 becomes more interesting when we learn that as late as 1814 George Ticknor could find in Cambridge, Massachusetts,

[20] *William and Mary College Quarterly*, VI., 182; IX., 80.

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EDMUND RANDOLPH.
Secretary of State of the United States.
Student in 1766.

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neither a good teacher of German, nor a German dictionary, nor even a German book, either in town or college.

In 1788 Mr. Jefferson wrote as follows: "Williamsburg is a remarkably healthy situation, reasonably cheap and affords very genteel society. I know no place in the world, while the present professors remain, where I would so soon place a son."

In 1791 Judge John Coalter, who was a student under Mr. Wythe, thus also expressed his opinion: "I scarcely know a place more pleasing than Williamsburg, which may justly receive the title (which Homer gives Greece), 'the land of lovely dames,' for here may be found beauty in perfection, and not only beauty, but sociability in the ladies."

The Revolution disestablished religion in Virginia, and though Mr. Madison, in 1790, was made first bishop of the Episcopal church, the college never again had an official connection with religion, although the visitors, faculty and students were principally Episcopalians.

As another result of the Revolution, the college lost the use of the Brafferton fund. Beilby Porteus, bishop of London, whose father, Robert Porteus, was born and lived most of his life in Virginia, brought suit, and the fund was diverted to the education of negroes in the West Indies. The Indian school was discontinued, and the building is now used as a dormitory.

As far as material aspects were concerned, the American Revolution was very unfavorable to the college. It lost in many ways—first, by removal of the capital to Richmond, which depreciated the importance of the college, the discontinuance of all the State laws for its support, and the diversion by the English courts of the Boyle fund. Three years after the peace, its active available capital amounted to only $2,503.66. Fortunately, it still possessed the extensive lands granted by the crown, which brought considerable rent, and its real estate was increased in 1784 by the public lands in and around Williamsburg, voted to the college by the general assembly.

I have noticed the introduction of the lecture system by Dr. William Small, and now it was recognized in the faculty

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minutes as the corner-stone of the new regime. "December 29, 1779. Resolved that the *lectures* in the different schools shall commence for the ensuing year on the 17th of January."

Another principle was that of election by the students among the branches of study. It has been observed that in 1770 the student was permitted by the visitors to depart from the established order to the extent of entering the mathematical school without the preliminary training in Latin and Greek taught in the grammar school. In 1770 it was resolved by the faculty, for the encouragement of science, "that the student, on paying annually one thousand pounds of tobacco, shall be entitled to attend any two of the following professors, viz.: of law and police, of natural philosophy and mathematics, and of moral philosophy, the law of nature and of nations, and of the fine arts; and that for fifteen hundred pounds he shall be entitled to attend any three professors, the fees to be paid at that period of the year when the courses of lectures commence." By the statutes of 1792, the students in general had to conform to a regular course, but this rule did not apply to students who came prepared, and any student was permitted to take the modern languages. Afterwards the rule became more general still, and the student was entered in the matriculation book "regular" or "irregular," according as he took the prescribed course or not. Hence Jefferson wrote to Francis Eppes four years before the opening of the university: "At William and Mary students are allowed to attend the schools of their choice, and those branches of science only which will be useful to them in the line of life they propose." W. B. Rogers, chairman of the faculty of the University of Virginia, spoke[22] as follows in his report to the legislature in 1845: "Many years before the establishment of the university, the privilege of an election of studies was allowed at William and Mary. Within her venerable precincts liberal methods of instruction found a home before they were adopted by the thronged and applauded col-

[21] Randall, *Life of Jefferson*, III., 483.

[22] Rogers, *Life of William B. Rogers*, I., 401.

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leges of New England; and in her halls were delivered by Bishop Madison the first regular courses of lectures on physical science and political economy ever given in the United States."

To this time (1779) is to be refered also the beginnings of what has been called the "Honor System," which, from its influence upon educational discipline must be deemed worthy of especial note. It became the aim of the professors of William and Mary to control the students without harrassing them with petty regulations or subjecting them to a system of espionage in the class-room and on examinations. The principle grew up outside of the rules, and did not receive printed recognition till 1817, when the statutes of the visitors contained a provision requiring students "to give evidence on their honor" respecting offences. But that the honor system had been practiced some years before is evident from the words of Judge Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, a student at the college in 1801, and who, as law professor, referred, in 1834, to the system as one of "long experience." Judge Tucker said: "It has been the study of its professors to cultivate at the same time the intellect, the principles and the deportment of the student, laboring with equal diligence to infuse the spirit of the scholar and the spirit of the gentleman. He comes to us as a gentleman. As such we receive and treat him, and resolutely refuse to know him in any other character. He is not harrassed with petty regulations; he is not insulted and annoyed by impertinent surveillance. Spies and informers have no countenance among us. We receive no accusation but from the conscience of the accused. His honor is the only witness to which we appeal. . . . The effect of this system in inspiring a high and scrupulous sense of honor and a scorn of all disingenuous artifices has been ascertained by long experience, and redounds to the praise of its authors."

When Mr. Jefferson founded the university of Virginia, this feature of William and Mary, together with its kindred principles, the lecture and elective systems, was transplanted to Charlottesville and successfully tried there upon a wider

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A Galaxy of Judges, Alumni of the College.

1. St. George Tucker. 2. John Blair, Jr. 3. George Wythe.
4. Spencer Roane. 5. John Marshall. 6. John Tyler, Sr.
7. William H. Cabell.

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and more extensive field of operations. The example of that institution has, I believe, been potent in bringing about the adoption of the same principles, to some extent at least, by all the colleges and universities of the Union.

Dr. McClurg's chair of medicine continued only a few years, and was discontinued in 1783, when he removed to Richmond. Here he stood at the head of his profession, and was so highly regarded that he was appointed one of the delegates to the Federal Convention in 1787.

The chair of law was continued till 1861. Judge Wythe removed to Richmond in 1791, and Judge St. George Tucker, one of the judges of the general court, became his successor. His lectures at the college were printed in 1803, and made the first distinctive text-book on the law published by any professor in the United States. Judge Tucker resigned in 1804, and was succeeded by Judge Hugh Nelson, who pursued the system of his predecessors. It seems, from a letter of Bishop Madison to C. H. Todd, that the course was better developed than that pursued about the same time at the law school in Litchfield, Connecticut.[23]

There were a few other changes in the faculty during Madison's presidency. Robert Andrews died in 1804, and was succeeded in the mathematical chair by George Blackwell, who resigned in 1811, when Ferdinand S. Campbell came in as his successor. Charles Bellini died in 1803, and was succeeded by Louis H. Girardin, author of the fourth volume of Burk's "History of Virginia," who taught, besides modern languages, history and geography. In 1805 he removed to Richmond, after which the chair of modern languages was discontinued till 1829.

In 1792 the grammar school was restored under John Bracken.

In 1794 the office of chancellor of the college was tendered to General George Washington, who accepted it in a letter which hung for many years in the library of the college, and was finally destroyed in the fire of 1859.

The young men of that day were far from being exemplars of sober habits, and the literature which comes down to us

[23] Sprague, *Annals of the American Church*, V., 323.

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CHANCELLORS OF THE COLLEGE SINCE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
1. George Washington. 2. John Tyler. 3. Hugh Blair Grigsby.

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shows that drinking and duelling caused the professors much trouble. Two "riots," more famous than others, happened in 1802 and 1808. Williamsburg was the hot-bed of republican sentiments; and French rationalism and atheism in that day were rampant in society. The number of students was only about fifty or sixty,[24] but they were the pick of Virginia, and there were very few among them who did not make name and fame. Among the students at this period were Winfield Scott, John J. Crittenden, Henry St. George Tucker, William S. Archer, John W. Jones, Philip P. Barbour, John Tyler, William Taylor Barry, Joseph C. Cabell and Littleton Waller Tazewell.

In 1804 William Taylor Barry, afterwards postmaster-general under President Andrew Jackon, wrote as follows regarding the college:

WILLIAMSBURG, *February* 6th, 1804.

. . . . . You ask me to give a minute account of my present situation, how I am pleased, what are my prospects, etc., which I do with a great deal of pleasure. First, as respects my professional pursuits. [Here he repeats in substance what he had formerly written.] Mr. Tucker is a man more profoundly read in the Law perhaps than any lawyer of the present time. No person can with more ease and facility clear up or elucidate any knotty or abstruse point of law, and he not only possesses the capability of doing it, but does it with willingness, and appears solicitous to communicate every information that he is possessed of. . . . I'll tell you how I employ my time generally. I rise about sun up, read until 11 o'c, then go to the lecture room, the examinations almost always detain me until 2 o'c in the evening. I then return and dine about 3 o'c. The rest of the evening I devote to exercise and company, until about 7 o'c at night, when I commence reading again and continue at it until 11 o'c, which is good bedtime. This is my general line of conduct, but I do not always conform to it. Sometimes I read less, sometimes more. I attend Mr. Madison's lectures on Friday; they are at once improving and highly gratifying. I thought at first I would not attend them, but give all my attention to Law, as Natural Philosophy is a subject not so immediately interesting. But I concluded that one day in the week would not be much, and that it would serve as a relaxation from my other

[24] These numbers, however, were not greatly less than the attendance at the Northern colleges. Princeton College had 84 in 1810.

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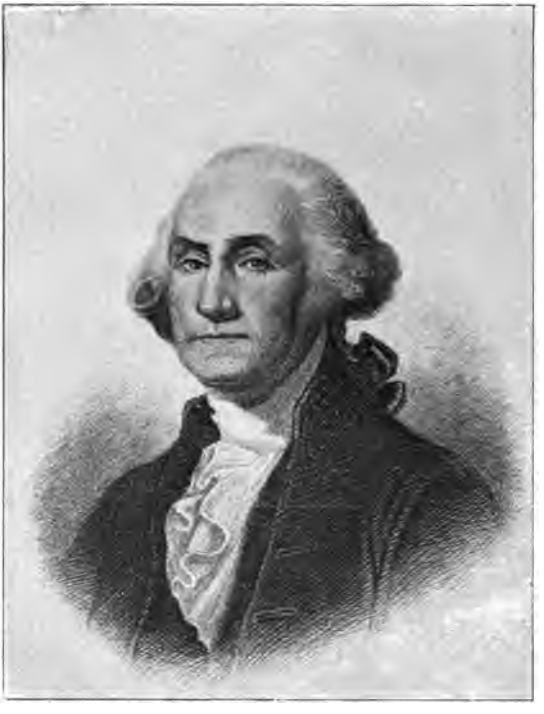

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

President of the United States.

Surveyor in 1749. Chancellor in 1794.

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studies. Besides, I might not have such another opportunity of extending my knowledge in that department of science. I imagine no person is better qualified to lecture on Natural Philosophy than Mr. Madison, and there is no college on the continent that has such extensive apparatus as this.

President Madison died March 6, 1812, in the 63rd year of his age, and his remains were interred in a vault under the floor of the chapel of the college.

After the death of Dr. Madison, John Bracken was president and professor of moral philosophy for two years, and then came John Augustine Smith, who held the same office till 1827. The succession of professors was as follows: The chair of natural philosophy and chemistry was held in 1812 by John McLean; in 1814 by Dr. Thomas L. Jones; in 1818, by Dr. Robert Hare; in 1819, by Dr. P. K. Rogers; and in 1829, by William B. Rogers—men of great eminence in their profession. In the department of law Judge Hugh Nelson resigned, and was succeeded by his brother, Chancellor Robert Nelson, who died July 9, 1818, in his fortieth year, and was followed by Judge James Semple.

After the election of Mr. Bracken as president, the grammar school had been discontinued, but in 1819 the board passed an order to establish in the college a chair of history and humanity, and Mr. Reuel Keith was selected for the position. November 13, 1820, the faculty decided that the books to be used in the first part of Mr. Keith's humanity course should be Virgil and Sallust in Latin, and the collection entitled "Græca Minora" in Greek; and that the text-books of the historical course should be Hume's "History of England," and Ramsay's "History of America." These proceedings are interesting, for they mark the period when Latin was first elevated at William and Mary to a college study; and it shows that the teaching of American history was probably done earlier at William and Mary than anywhere else in America. Mr. Keith remained, however, at William and Mary only two years. In 1817 a new edition of the statutes was published.

In the meantime, the finances had much improved by the sale of the college lands, and amounted, in 1824, to $153,642.71.

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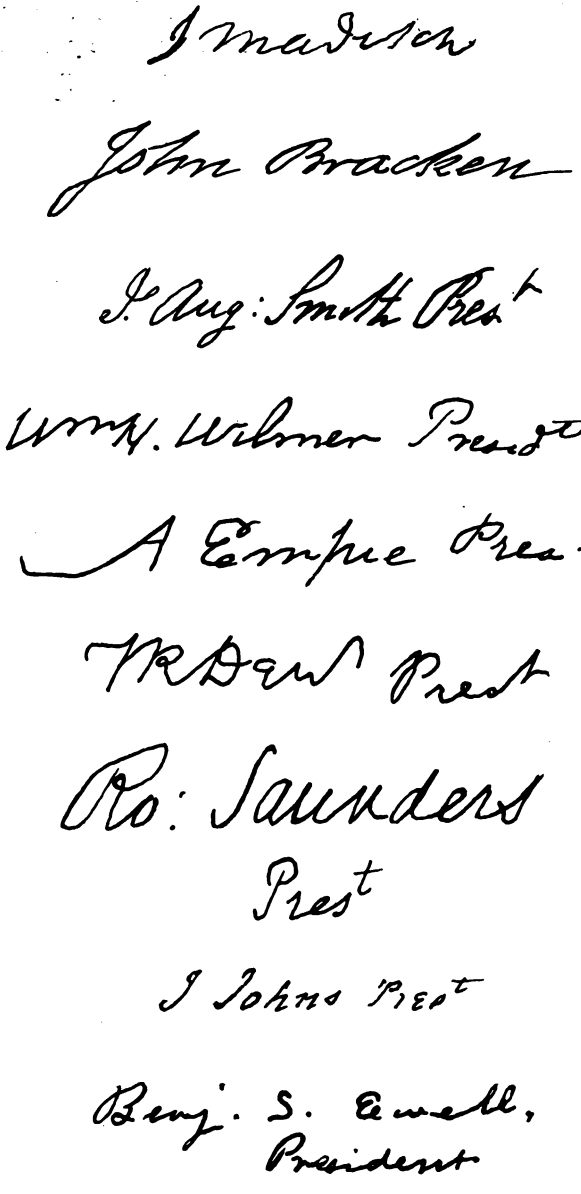

AUTOGRAPHS OF PRESIDENTS OF THE COLLEGE.

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But there were stormy times ahead. The number of students had reached a high figure[25] immediately after the war of 1812, and after 1817 the numbers steadily declined. This decline was probably due to the change in Mr. Jefferson's plans of establishing the college as the state university, and his patronage of a rival institution close at home. In promoting their scheme, Mr. Jefferson and his friends appeared to have changed their views as to the college and the neighborhood of Williamsburg, and pretended to see only failure in any effort to revive a college with such an "antiquated" constitution and situated in so "unhealthy" a region. Such opinions, industriously propagated by friends of the new university in the legislature, had the effect of diminishing the attendance at the college; and in 1824, President Smith conceived it necessary, in order to save the college from destruction, to apply to the legislature for permission to move the institution to Richmond, and was supported in the application by the majority of the board and the faculty. He was opposed, however, by the rector of the board, John Tyler, and a brother-in-law of the rector, John B. Seawell, in the visitors, and another brother-in-law, Judge Semple, in the faculty. The town people also strongly opposed the movement, and the friends of the university joined from interested motives. There was much excitement, and Mr. Tyler made a great speech in the legislature, and the removal proposition was rejected. Dr. Smith resigned soon after, and was succeeded by Rev. William H. Wilmer, an Episcopal clergyman.

Mr. Wilmer's administration lasted less than two years, and on October 16, 1827, Rev. Adam Empie, of Schenectady, New York, was, by the board of visitors, made president. The laws were codified and republished; and under Empie the old jealousies fell into the background; the college began to recover from its depression, and the number of students steadily increased. Two features of his administration may be especially noted. The first was the revival of the grammar school and the appointment of Dabney Brown to conduct it, with the as-

[25] In 1817 the number was 92.

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1. James Madison, D. D., President 1777-1812.
2. John Augustine Smith, M. D., President 1814-1825.
3. Adam Empie, President 1827-1836.

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sistance of an usher; and the second was the election of Thomas R. Dew, a former master of arts of the college, to the chair of history and political law. As defined in an advertisement, the subject matter of his chair was intended to embrace "natural and national law, politicks, history and philosophy of the human mind, and political economy." The text book on natural and national law was Vattel, with reference to Rutherforth's *Institutes;* in political economy, Smith's *Wealth of Nations;* in Metaphysics, Brown's *Works* abridged; and in civics, Locke *On Government* and Ramsay's *Social Contract.* Lectures were delivered at least three times a week on each subject.

Professor Dew gave probably the most thorough and comprehensive courses that can be found in any of the colleges of his times. His work, embodying his lectures on the "Restrictive System" and on the "Laws, Customs, Manners and Institutions of Ancient and Modern Nations," cover a wide range of thought, and are worthy of study in the class-room to-day. In 1836 he became president, and his vigorous administration, supported by Judge N. Beverley Tucker, professor of law; John Millington, professor of chemistry and natural science; Robert Saunders, professor of mathematics; and Dabney Brown, professor of humanity, who then constituted the faculty, brought about a golden period for the college. Under them the roll was raised in the year 1839 to 140, of whom about 30 were law students. This attendance was the largest ever seen at the institution. John Millington was trained in the best schools of Europe, and was the author of famous scientific works; and Mr. Tucker, who succeeded Judge Semple in 1834, was of varied talents as lecturer, author and political writer. He raised the work of his law school to the highest plane, and his friendship was sought by men of the first importance in the Union.

In one other respect the influence of William and Mary, under Dew, may be noticed.

Both George Wythe and St. George Tucker, who stood at the head of the law department from 1779 to 1804, were advocates of the emancipation of the slaves, and their teachings, no

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MILITARY ALUMNI.

1. General William B. Taliaferro. 2. General Winfield Scott.
3. Major George Croghan.

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doubt, had much to do with producing that spirit of philanthropy so prevalent in Virginia till the sudden onslaught of the abolitionists. When Garrison went to Baltimore city about 1829 to join Benjamin Lundy in the publication of an emancipation newspaper, there were some 300 societies in the Southern States bottomed upon a moral dissatisfaction with the institution of slavery. Garrison changed the direction of Lundy's work, who had done much to promote the cause in the South, and entered upon a crusade of abuse and incendiarism, which, in some measure, changed the course of sentiment in Virginia. The reaction took place and the benefits of slavery, "socially, politically and economically," were preached at William and Mary from 1826 to 1851, by Thomas R. Dew and Nathaniel Beverley Tucker.

Dr. Dew died in Paris in 1846, while on a wedding trip, and he was succeeded as president by Robert Saunders, professor of mathematics. His brief administration is noted for one of those unfortunate rows that sometimes invade even literary circles, proving that we are all "poor mortals" alike. Personal difficulties in the faculty and among leading citizens in the town were involved with a renewal of the attempt to remove the college to Richmond. Finally, all the faculty resigned except Judge N. B. Tucker, and for a year (1848-49) all the college classes except the law classes, were suspended, Benjamin S. Ewell serving as president *pro tempore.*

As reorganized, the faculty consisted, in 1849, of John Johns, assistant bishop of the Episcopal church of Virginia, president; Benjamin S. Ewell, professor of mathematics; Nathaniel B. Tucker, professor of law; William F. Hopkins, professor of natural philosophy and chemistry; Dr. Silas Totten, professor of moral and intellectual science; Henry A. Washington, professor of history and political economy; and Morgan J. Smead, professor of humanity. The number of students rose from twenty-one in 1849-'50 to eighty-two in 1853-'54. Dr. Johns resigned in a letter dated March 31, 1854, and the faculty was then composed as follows: Benjamin S. Ewell, president, and professor of mathematics and natural sciences; Rev. Silas Totten, D. D., professor of moral and in-

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tellectual philosophy, belles-lettres, and rhetoric; Morgan J. Smead, Ph. D., professor of languages; Henry A. Washington, professor of history and political economy; Judge George P. Scarburgh, professor of municipal and constitutional law; Robert Gatewood, adjunct professor of mathematics.

Mr. Ewell devoted himself to the upbuilding of the college, and got out, in 1855, the first general catalogue of the institution. In 1857 John Tyler was elected chancellor—the first since Washington. In 1859 there was a new issue of the general catalogue, by Robert J. Morrison, professor of history and political economy, and a little later, in the same year, on February 8, the main building of the college was accidentally destroyed by fire. The greatest loss was the library, of about 8,000 volumes, the accumulation of 150 years, and in part the gifts of kings, archbishops, bishops, nobles, colonial governors and the assembly. The library was then in the north wing, over the department of natural science. The fire destroyed all the instruments, and among them were some constructed by Nairne and selected by Dr. Small a hundred years before. The mural tablets in the chapel, to the memory of Sir John Randolph and Right Rev. James Madison, crumbled away under the intense heat.

Notwithstanding, the friends of the college would not despair. There was a large meeting of the alumni to hear an address from the chancellor, John Tyler, and a poem from St. George Tucker, esquire. Funds were solicited, and, in a remarkably short space of time, the college was ready for occupation again. The following is extracted from a report made by a committee to the faculty at a meeting on February 8, 1860, one year after its destruction:

> The new college edifice has been completed, and fully furnished. On the 11th of October, 1859, the capstone of the building was laid by the Grand Lodge of Virginia, and the college exercises have been conducted in it without interruption from the beginning of the present session. The buildings are in every way suitable, and in an eminent degree convenient and comfortable. The lecture-rooms are furnished with all the appliances for illustration in the several departments of instruction. The philosophical apparatus is very complete. The walls of the lecture-

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rooms of natural science are hung with valuable pictorial diagrams. The department of chemistry is well provided with chemicals and instruments for experiment and research. The lecture-room of history has been provided with a full set of the most valuable mural maps, geographical and historical, on the largest scale, and of the most accurate construction.

The literary societies of the college have been provided with large and handsome halls, which are furnished in the most comfortable manner. To each of these is attached an apartment for library and reading-room.

The chapel has been restored, and the remains of its illustrious dead still lie undisturbed within its walls.

The library has been conveniently and handsomely furnished with cases for books, and already contains about six thousand volumes, obtained partly by purchase, and partly by the donations of public-spirited individuals.

Thus, within one year, the losses by the fire of February 8, 1859, have, in every material point of view, been completely restored; and in all the essentials of its building, furniture, apparatus and library, the college is now in a better condition than it was on that day.

Early in May, 1861, the actual existence of war at its very threshold rendered it necessary for the college to suspend its exercises, and President B. S. Ewell and nearly all the students and professors hurried into the Confederate army. The main building was occupied by the Confederate troops, and used first as a barracks and later as a hospital. When General Johnston retreated up the Peninsula, in 1862, the Federal troops occupied the college for similar purposes. While garrisoned by the fifth regiment of Pennsylvania cavalry, Williamsburg was surprised by a detachment of Confederate cavalry, who captured a part of the Federal troops and drove the rest down to Yorktown. The Federals soon after returned, and some of the garrison, provoked by defeat and under the influence of drink and before organization or subordination was restored, fired and destroyed the principal building recently erected, with the furniture and apparatus.[26] At later periods of the war, all of the remaining houses on the college premises were greatly injured,

[26] The books in the library had been removed, fortunately, to the president's house, and were preserved.

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1. Robert Saunders, President in 1847-1848.
2. Thomas R. Dew, President 1836-1846.
3. John Johns, D. D., President 1849-1854.
4. Benjamin S. Ewell, President 1854-1888.

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the wood-work being taken out of the Brafferton building, and the enclosures around the president's house and college yard being removed and burnt up. The vaults of the college chapel were broken open and robbed of the silver plates attached to the coffins, and of whatever else of value they were found to contain. This desecration was checked, it is stated, when it became known to the military commander.

After the war was over, Colonel Ewell went to the assistance of the college, and opposed the project of the removal of the institution to Richmond. The burnt buildings were restored, and, in 1869, the faculty was again reorganized, Colonel Ewell chosen president, and Hugh B. Grigsby elected chancellor, to succeed John Tyler, who died in 1862. The cost of repairs and the pay of professors, however, caused a heavy drain on the endowment fund, which the fees of the students did not make up, and after many efforts to support the sinking fortunes of the institution, President Ewell was compelled to witness a suspension of the exercises in 1881. The attempts to raise money in the North by personal subscription, and to obtain indemnity from congress, had also failed, and the college seemed sunk to its lowest state.

The College Transferred to the State.

After seven years of suspension, during which time the revenues of the college were well husbanded, it was determined by the board of visitors to apply to the legislature for aid to connect a system of normal instruction and training with the college course. This idea had been a favorite one with President Ewell, and received also the warm endorsement of General William B. Taliaferro, of the board of visitors, and of Judge Warner T. Jones, also of the board. It was received with favor by the general assembly, and a bill was approved by the governor, March 5, 1888, appropriating annually $10,000 to the support of the college, and providing for a new board of visitors, to consist of ten appointees under the charter, and ten appointees of the governor, with the superintendent of public instruction as member *ex-officio*. Under the bill a reorganiza-

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tion was again effected, and President Ewell, having declined any active connection with the institution by reason of his age, was retired as president emeritus.

The new faculty consisted of Lyon G. Tyler, president and professor of moral science, political economy and civil government: J. Lesslie Hall (late fellow of Johns Hopkins university), professor of English language and history; T. J. Stubbs, Ph. D., professor of mathematics; Lyman B. Wharton, A. M., D. D., professor of ancient and modern languages; Van F. Garrett, M. D., professor of natural science; and Hugh S. Bird, L. I., professor of pedagogics. The very first year afterwards the college attendance was 104, and it continued to increase, the number rising, in 1906, to 244. In 1893 the congress of the United States, chiefly through the influence of Hon. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts; Hon. Frank Beltzhoover, of Pennsylvania; and General N. M. Curtis, of New York, passed a bill to indemnify the college partially for its losses; and, in 1906, a transfer was made to the State.

This was done without violence to any one's feelings, and seemed to be a natural consummation of the relations which the college has always borne to the State. In its origin the college was a State creation, and for a hundred years was the only one in Virginia. The general assembly selected the first board of governors and its first president, and contributed for many years to its support. After the Revolution, State and college drifted apart, but, in 1888, the connection was renewed; and, after drawing closer and closer together, the college was finally absorbed by the State through an act approved March 7, 1906, and put upon the footing of a regular State institution. The process was very simple. With the consent of the authorities, the property of the college was transferred from the old corporation entitled "The President and Masters or Professors of the College of William and Mary in Virginia," to the new corporation styled "The College of William and Mary in Virginia." The act provides that this corporation shall consist of eleven members, viz.: the superintendent of public instruction and ten gentlemen, to be appointed by the governor for four years each.

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A comparison of the present condition of William and Mary, with what it was in 1888, will show the strides made by the institution. In 1888 the funds of the institution, after payment of debts, did not exceed $20,000 all told, and, because of its inability to support a faculty, the doors of the college had been closed for seven years. The buildings were only five in number, and they were out of repair and without any of the modern improvements. At the present writing (1907), the endowment fund reaches the sum of $154,000, and the college receives annually $35,000 from the state. During the past session the college had almost twice as many students as it ever had in its most prosperous days. There are ten buildings, all in fine condition, well equipped, lighted with electricity, and supplied with the purest sort of water from an artesian well. The college grounds have been surrounded with new fences, and granolithic walks have taken the place of the old dirt paths. The library has grown from 7,000 volumes in 1888, to 15,000. The corps of instructors numbers 25, when at no time previous to 1888 did the number exceed ten. The college maintains an observation and training school, which is attended by upwards of 133 children. A sewer system has been put in, and a new library building will soon be erected.

Presidents and Professors.

PRESIDENTS.

James Blair, A. M., D. D., 1693-1743; Rev. William Dawson, D. D., 1743-1752; Rev. William Stith, A. M., 1752-1755; Rev. Thomas Dawson, A. M., 1755-1761; Rev. William Yates, 1761-1764; Rev. James Horrocks, 1764-1771; Rev. John Camm, A. M., 1771-1777; Rt. Rev. James Madison, D. D., 1777-1812; Rev. John Bracken, 1812-1814; John Augustine Smith, M. D., 1814-1826; Rev. William H. Wilmer, D. D., 1826-1827; Rev. Adam Empie, D. D., 1827-1836; Thomas R. Dew, A. M., 1836-1846; Robert Saunders, A. M., 1846-1848; Benjamin S. Ewell, LL. D., 1848-1849; Rt. Rev. John Johns, D. D., 1849-1854; Benjamin S. Ewell, 1854-1888; Lyon G. Tyler, LL. D., 1888——.

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MASTERS AND PROFESSORS.

Rev. Mungo Inglis, 1694,[27]..... master of the grammar school.
Rev. Arthur Blackamore, ab't 1706. " " "
Rev. Mungo Inglis, 1716..... " " "
Rev. Hugh Jones, 1719,..... " " "
Joshua Fry, 1729,..... " " "
Rev. William Stith, 1731,..... " " "
Rev. Edward Ford, 1737..... " " "
Rev. Thomas Robinson, 1742,..... " " "
Rev. Goronwy Owen, 1758,..... " " "
Rev. William Webb, 1760,..... " " "
Rev. James Horrocks, 1763,..... " " "
Rev. Josiah Johnson, 1767,..... " " "
Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, 1773,..... " " "
Rev. John Bracken, 1775,..... " " "
Rev. Jas. Henderson, adj't, 1792,... " " "
Dabney Brown, 1826, ... " " "
William R. Garrett, 1866,..... " " "
T. J. Stubbs, 1868, ... " " "
J. Wilmer Turner, 1869,..... " " "
Christopher Jackson, before 1716, master of the Indian school.
Christopher Smith, 1716,..... " " "
Rev. Charles Griffin, about 1720,.. " " "
Richard Cocke, before 1729,..... " " "
Rev. John Fox, 1729,..... " " "
Rev. Robert Barrett, 1737,..... " " "
Rev. Thomas Dawson, 1738,..... " " "
Rev. Emanuel Jones, 1755,..... " " "
Charles Bellini, 1779,.....professor of modern languages.
Louis H. Girardin, 1803,..... " " "
C. de La Pena, 1829,..... " " "
Edwin Taliaferro, 1858,.....professor of romance languages.
Edward S. Joynes, 1858,.....professor of German.
Thomas P. McCandlish, 1869..... professor of French.
Frank Preston, 1869, professar of German and German literature.
Rev. L. B. Wharton, 1870,.....professor of German literature.
Rev. L. B. Wharton, 1872,.....professor of modern languages.
Dr. Charles E. Bishop, 1892,..... " " "
George Wythe, 1779,.....professor of law.
St. George Tucker, 1791,..... " "
Hugh Nelson, 1804,..... " "
Robert Nelson, 1811,..... " "
James Semple, 1819,..... " "
Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, 1831,.. " "

[27]The figures following the names give the year of qualification.

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George P. Scarburgh, 1854..... professor of law.
Lucien Minor, 1859..... " "
Charles Morris, 1860..... " "
Dr. James McClurg, 1779,.....professor of medicine.
——— Le Fevre, 1712.....prof. natural philoso. and math.
Rev. Hugh Jones, 1719..... " " " "
Alexander Irvine, 1729..... " " " "
Joshua Fry, 1732..... " " " "
John Graeme, 1737..... " " " "
Rev. Richard Graham, 1749..... " " " "
William Small, 1758..... " " " "
Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, 1770,..... " " " "
Rev. James Madison, 1773..... " " " "
Benjamin S. Ewell, 1849..... " " " "
Rev. Robert Andrews, 1784,.....professor of mathematics.
George Blackburn, 1805..... " "
Ferdinand S. Campbell, 1811..... " "
Robert Saunders, 1833, ... " "
Benjamin S. Ewell, 1848,..... " "
Tho. T. L. Snead, 1869..... " "
Benjamin S. Ewell, 1887,..... " "
Tho. Jefferson Stubbs, 1888,..... " "
Rev. James Madison, 1784,.....professor of natural philosophy.
Dr. John McLean, 1812,..... " " "
Dr. Thomas L. Jones, 1814,..... " " "
Dr. Robert Hare, 1818,..... " " "
Dr. P. K. Rogers, 1819,.....prof. natural philoso. and chemistry.
Dr. William B. Rogers, 1829,..... " " " "
Dr. John Millington, 1836,..... " " " "
William F. Hopkins, 1849,..... " " " "
Benjamin S. Ewell, 1848,..... " " " "
Richard A. Wise, 1869,..... professor of chemistry.
Van F. Garrett, 1888,.....professor of natural science.
John W. Ritchie, 1906,.....professor of biology.
Rev. James Fontaine, 1729,.....professor of divinity.
Rev. Bartholomew Yates, 1729,... " "
Rev. John Camm, 1749,..... " "
Rev. John Dixon, 1770,..... " "
Rev. William Dawson, 1729,.....professor of moral philosophy.
Rev. William Preston, 1752,..... " " "
Rev. Jacob Rowe, 1758,..... " " "
Rev. Richard Graham, 1761,..... " " "
Rev. Samuel Henley, 1770,..... " " "
Rev. Robert Andrews, 1777,..... " " "
Rev. James Madison, 1784,..... " " "
Dr. J. Augustine Smith, 1814,.... " " "

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Rev. William H. Wilmer, 1826,... professor of moral philosophy.
Thomas R. Dew, 1828,..... " " "
Archibald C. Peachy, 1847,..... " " "
Rt. Rev. John Johns, 1849,..... " " "
Rev. Silas Totten, 1849,..... " " "
Rev. George T. Wilmer, 1869,..... " " "
Lyon G. Tyler, 1877, 1888,..... " " "
Hugh S. Bird, 1898,..... " " "
Bruce R. Payne, 1904,..... " " "
A. B. Coffey, 1905, ... " " "
J. Lesslie Hall, 1888,.....English language and literature.
James S. Wilson, 1906, assistant prof. in English language and lit.
Louis H. Girardin, 1803, ...prof. of history and geography.
Rev. Reuel Keith, 1821,.....English and United States history.
Thomas R. Dew, 1826,..... " " "
George Frederick Holmes, 1846,... history, political economy, etc.
Henry A. Washington, 1849,..... " " "
Robert J. Morrison, 1858,..... " " "
J. Leslie Hall, 1888,.....history (U. S., English and gen'l).
Lyon G. Tyler, 1898,.....prof. American hist. and politics.
Rev. Reuel Keith, 1821,.....Latin and Greek languages.
Rev. Charles Minnegerode, 1842, " " "
Morgan J. Smead, 1848,.....Latin and Greek languages.
Edwin Taliaferro, 1858,.....professor of Latin.
Edward S. Joynes, 1858,.....professor of Greek.
Thomas P. McCandlish, 1869,.....professor of Latin.
Frank Preston, 1869,.....professor of Greek.
Rev. L. B. Wharton, 1870..... " "
Charles S. Dod, 1874,....adjunct professor in Latin, French, etc.
Rev. Lyman B. Wharton, 1888,...professor of ancient languages.
Rev. Lyman B. Wharton, 1892,...professor of Latin.
Charles Edward Bishop, 1892,....professor of Greek.
Walter A. Montgomery, 1906,....Latin, adjunct prof Greek.
Rev. H. T. Louthan, 1903,..... adjunct prof. Greek and mod. lang.
Hugh S. Bird, 1888, ...professor of education.
Bruce R. Payne, 1904,..... " "
A. B. Coffey, 1905,..... " "
R. M. Crawford, 1905, professor of drawing and manual arts.
Lucy L. Davis, 1895, principal of Observation and Training School.
Nannie C. Davis, 1902, " " " "
Rev. W. J. King, 1902,.....Physical Director.
T. M. Blanchard, 1904,..... " "
Henry W. Withers, 1906,..... " "

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Objects of Interest at the College.

The main college building stands at the west end of the main street of Williamsburg in an angle, of which the sides are respectively the road to Jamestown and the road to Richmond. In front of the building, standing to the right and left, facing one another, are the Brafferton building (founded 1723) and the president's house (1732). Set half-way between the gate and the main building is the mutilated statue of Lord Botetourt, by Richard Hayward, of London (1773). At the steps of the main building is one of the stones formerly used to mark the bounds of the original college tract, with the date (1694) and the college monogram. On the path leading from the president's house to the main building is the old sun-dial of the college, going back before the Revolution. On the green is a cannon, formerly at Fort Christanna (established by Governor Spotswood on the frontiers in Brunswick County in 1712), and removed to the college on the first day of the twentieth century.

In the main building itself the chapel and library contain perhaps the objects of most interest. On the walls of the chapel are tablets to the "Founders of the College," to Sir John Randolph, to George Wythe, and to Benjamin S. Ewell. Under the floor are vaults containing the remains of several eminent persons: (1) Sir John Randolph and his two eminent sons, Peyton Randolph, first president of the continental congress, and John Randolph, the last royal attorney-general of Virginia; (2) Norborne, Lord Botetourt, best beloved of Virginia's royal governors; (3) Right Rev. James Madison; (4) Chancellor Robert Nelson. On the walls of the chapel and library are some forty-five portraits, the most interesting for their age or authorship being Rev. James Blair (two portraits); Sarah Harrison, his wife; Hon. Robert Boyle, by T. Kerseboom; Colonel John Page, by Sir Peter Lely, London, 1660; Hon. John Page, of North End, Gloucester County, by Bridges, 1750; Jane Byrd, wife of Hon. John Page, by Bridges; Governor John Page, by Benjamin West; Judge John Tyler, by James Worrell, an early Virginia artist; Sir John Randolph

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MAIN COLLEGE BUILDING.
Erected after the fire of 1859. Burned in 1862.

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and his wife, Susannah Beverley (from miniatures), by Bruce, of Winchester. In the library are the original faculty and steward's records, beginning in 1729; the records of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, 1776-1781; map of the Brafferton lordship in the north riding of Yorkshire, by George Pape, surveyor, (1773); the dies from which the Botetourt gold medals were struck, (1772-1776)—these medals being the first collegiate prizes of their kind in the United States; the silver plate taken from the coffin of Lord Botetourt by a private soldier of the Federal army and restored in 1893 by an Albany, New York, jeweler, to whom it was sold.

In the science hall are some interesting pieces of physical apparatus selected by William B. Rogers, and several donated by Ex-President John Tyler.

Summary of Leading Facts Regarding the College.

1693–1907.

The college of William and Mary is in its antecedents the oldest of American colleges; in actual operation it is second only to Harvard. The project of a college for Virginia was agitated as early as 1617, three years before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. An Indian massacre put a stop to the enterprise, but after many years the original intention was consummated in the college established at Middle Plantation (now Williamsburg), in 1693, and named in honor of the ruling monarchs, King William and Queen Mary.

It is the first college that received its charter direct from the crown of England, and the only one that received its coat-of-arms from the college of Heralds in London. It was the first college in the United States to have a full faculty of professors (1729); the first to adopt the lecture system (1758); the first to establish the elective and honor systems (1779); the first to widen its scope into that of a university (1779); the first to establish courses in municipal and constitutional law (1779), modern languages (1779), political economy (1779), history (1803); the first to organize a Greek letter intercollegiate fraternity, the Phi Beta Kappa Society; and the first

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PROMINENT ALUMNI.

1. JUDGE WILLIAM W. CRUMP, Rector of the Board in 1888.
2. HENRY ST. GEORGE TUCKER, President of the State Supreme Court.
3. NATHANIEL BEVERLEY TUCKER, Professor of Law 1834--1851.

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to award gold medals as collegiate prizes, donated by Lord Botetourt in 1770.

The alumni of the college exerted more influence on the making of the Union than the alumni of any other institution. Richard Bland was the first to announce in a pamphlet that America was no part of the kingdom of England, and was only united with it by the common tie of the crown (1766). Dabney Carr was the patron of the resolutions for the appointment of committees of intercolonial correspondence (1773). Peyton Randolph was the first president of the continental congress (1774). Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence (1776). John Tyler, Sr., carried through the Virginia legislature the proposition for the convention at Annapolis (1786). Edmund Randolph opened the proceedings at Philadelphia by submitting "the Virginia plan" (1787). John Marshall settled the construction of the constitution. George Washington, though not an alumnus, received from the college his first public office of surveyor, and his last as chancellor of the institution.

Of the seven presidents of the United States, born in Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe and John Tyler were educated at William and Mary. To these men is to be ascribed the annexation of Louisiana, Florida, Texas and most of the western territory, thus trebling the original area of the Union. The most illustrious of the chief justices, John Marshall, was an alumnus, and so was the most distinguished commander of the Federal army down to 1861, General Winfield Scott. James Monroe announced the Monroe doctrine, defining our relations to this continent. In the period from 1789 to 1861 the college furnished sixteen out of twenty-seven senators from Virginia, three out of four speakers of the house of representatives from Virginia, two out of the three ministers plenipotentiary to England, four out of the six ministers to France; and John James Beckley, first librarian of congress and first clerk of the house of representatives, was a William and Mary man.

By the results of the Revolutionary war, the college was left with little property but its lands, amounting to about 20,000 acres in different parts of the State. These were sold,

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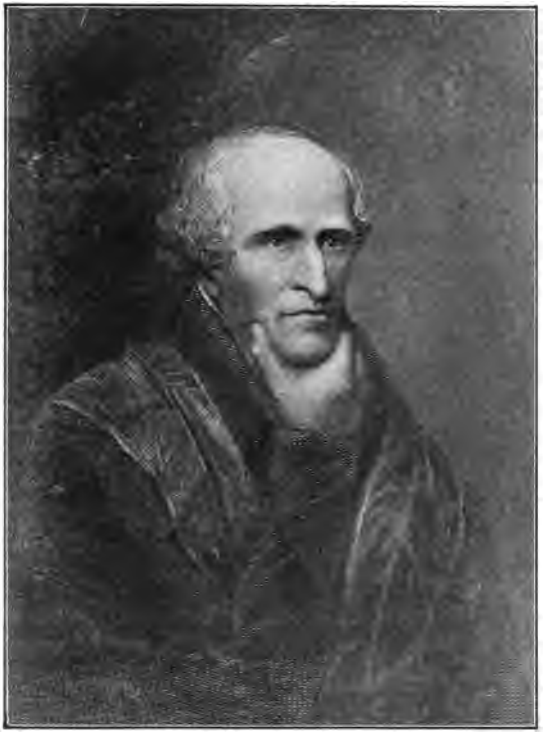

JOHN TYLER, SR.

Governor of Virginia in 1808-1811; Judge of the United States District Court, 1811-1813, etc. Student in 1765.

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and an endowment fund was realized of about $150,000, by means of which, with fees, the college was supported till 1861. During the war the main college building was burned by some disorderly Federal troops, and most of the endowment fund was lost by investment in Confederate bonds.

For many years after the war the college was in a very crippled condition, but in 1888 the State formed a connection with it, and it is now more prosperous than ever it was. The endowment fund has been raised from about $20,000, all that remained after the war, to $154,000, yielding an interest of about $7,000. The college receives in addition annually the sum of $35,000 from the State of Virginia, and keeps up, in connection with the regular collegiate course, a course of normal instruction and training. All the old buildings have been restored, and there have been added an infirmary, a dormitory, a gymnasium, and a science hall. The college is also equipped with electric lights, artesian well water, and a sewer system. The largest attendance in the annals of the institution, at any time before the late war, was about 140, but the attendance this session is nearly double this figure. The faculty consists of a president, nine full professors, one adjunct professor, two assistant professors, one physical director, one principal of the observation and training school, and ten instructors. It has classes in American history, political economy, civil government, English literature, general history, Latin, Greek, mathematics, modern languages, education, natural science, chemistry, biology, drawing, manual arts, psychology, logic and ethics.

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IV.

The Capitol.

In the act of 1699 for the building of Williamsburg, provision was made for the erection of a government house as follows: It was to be called "The Capitol," a pretentious title, attributed by Robert Beverley, the historian, to Governor Nicholson, who used the term for the first time in America. Four hundred and seventy-five feet square of land, already surveyed, was to be for its use. The new structure was to consist of two buildings seventy-five feet long, from inside to inside, lying perpendicularly to Duke of Gloucester Street. These buildings were to be connected by a gallery, so as to form a figure like the letter H. Each building was to be two stories high; to be surmounted with a hip roof, shingled with cypress, and having dormer windows; and one end of each building was to be made semi-circular. A portion of each ground floor, twenty-five feet in length, was to be cut off and made into four compartments, one of which was to be occupied by a grand staircase to the story above. This left in each building a room fifty feet long, at each circular end, which was to be covered with flagstone. The space in the second story of each building was to be divided into rooms according to the discretion of the committee in charge.[1]

The width of each part of the capitol was ordered to be twenty-five feet from inside to inside. The approach to each building was to be by a circular porch fifteen feet wide, having an iron balcony overhead, supported by cedar columns. The grand folding doors, six feet in width, opened upon these porches, and afforded an entrance into the respective buildings.

The first story was to be fifteen foot pitch, and the second story ten foot pitch. The entrance doors and the windows of the first story were to be arched. The portico joining the two parts of the capitol was to be thirty feet long and twenty-five

[1] Hening, *Statutes at Large*, III., 197, 213, 419. *William and Mary Coll. Quarterly*, X., 78.

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feet each way, raised upon piazzas, and built as high as the other parts. Over the middle of the gallery was ordered a cupola to reach above the rest of the building. On it was to be a clock, and upon the top was to float, upon proper occasions, the Union Jack of Great Britain.

The whole was to be of brick—the foundations up to or near the surface of the ground, four bricks thick; thence to the water table, three bricks and a half brick thick; thence to the top of the first story three bricks thick; and thence to the top of the second story, two bricks and half a brick thick.

The building of the capitol was placed in the hands of the committee which had been appointed to make a revision of the laws of the colony, and, pursuant to this authority, they met July 7, 1701, and appointed Mr. Henry Cary as manager, at a salary of £100 a year, and authorized Mr. John Tullitt, of James City County, to make 600,000 bricks, at 20 shillings a thousand. The building was far enough advanced in August, 1702, to permit the general assembly to designate the use of the rooms. As described by Hugh Jones and the journal of the council, the great room on the ground floor at the west end, with its four galleries, was set apart for the use of the general court, and adjoining thereto was the secretary's office. Upstairs was the council chamber, where the governor and council sat in state, "in imitation of the king and council, or the lord chancellor and house of lords." In the east wing, below stairs, was the hall of the house of burgesses, which was said to be not unlike in appearance the room of the house of commons. In the portico was a large room for the whole body of the assembly to hold conferences and hear prayers; and at one end was a lobby, and near it an office for the clerk of the council, and at the other end, over the hall of the burgesses, were several chambers for the different committees of the house—claims, privilges and elections.

The four rooms in the garret of the east wing were appropriated, one to the auditor, one to the secretary, one to the judge of the vice-admiralty, and one to the bishop of London's commissary. One of the four rooms in the garret of the west

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THE CAPITOL AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 1830.
From a Painting Owned by Mrs. Anne Munford, of Richmond, Va.

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wing was for the use of the collectors' accounts and papers; another for the papers of the naval officers; a third for the attorney-general; and the fourth for the sheriff attending the general court.

Over the conference room were likewise four closets—one for the clerk of the general assembly, one for the clerk of the house of burgesses, and one for each of the two clerks of the committees.

And finally, the attics in the roof were put in shape and appropriated for odds and ends.

Instead of railing in the building, as was first intended, it was ordered by the assembly, in 1704, that the capitol should be enclosed with a good brick wall, two bricks thick, and four and a half feet high, distant sixty feet from the east and west ends of the building, and fifty feet from the north and south ends. The bounds of the capitol were made to include the prison grounds as far as the spring, and stones were sent for and set up to distinguish the public property.[2]

On May 3, 1704, it was resolved by the general assembly that "the Virginia arms be sent for, and that they be set upp in the room where the house of burgesses sett."

This building, though in reality by no means a pretentious structure, was the largest then in the colonies, and was pronounced by Hugh Jones "the best and most commodious Pile of its Kind that he had ever seen or heard of." It stood till 1746, when, like its predecessors at Jamestown, it fell a victim to the flames.

The fire broke out in the eaves of the building, and was attributed by Governor Gooch to the "horrid machinations of desperate villians instigated by infernal madness." Fortunately, at the time the fire was discovered, the wind changed from the east to the northwest, and delayed the flames long enough for the clerks to remove the public records.

The governor assembled the house of burgesses in special session and addressed them in a mournful speech. The idea

[2] *William and Mary Coll. Quarterly.* X., 159-165; Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia.*

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of removing the seat of government from Williamsburg was already popular, and the answer of the house of burgesses hinted at their intentions: "To lay the foundation of a new city, to raise the Building in a Place commodiously situated for Navigation, will compleat the glory of your administration, and transmit your name with the brightest Luster to the latest Ages; with what pleasure then may we extend our Views thro' future centuries and anticipate the Happiness for Posterity."

Accordingly, the question of rebuilding was considered by a committee, who reported in favor of removing the seat of government and against rebuilding the capitol in Williamsburg. This report was adopted by the house, and a bill was ordered to condemn 600 acres of land belonging to Richard Littlepage, near New Castle, on the Pamunkey River. It created much excitement, and on April 10, counsel for the city of Williamsburg was heard against the removal; notwithstanding which, the bill passed to its engrossment by a vote of 42 to 34; and on the next day it passed its third reading by 44 to 20.

But Williamsburg was saved by the council, who declined to consent to the bill, and on April 18, 1747, the general assembly adjourned, much bad feeling having been engendered.

The assembly did not convene again till October 27, 1748, and, in the meantime, an unexpected circumstance helped the cause of Williamsburg. While the small-pox was raging in other parts of the colony, Williamsburg could point to a clean bill of health. Accordingly, Gooch, in his message, was flat-footed in favor of building on the old foundations, and on November 16, leave to introduce the original bill was defeated by a vote of 41 to 36. Thereupon, two days later, when Philip Ludwell asked permission to present a bill to erect the capitol in Williamsburg, the request was granted by 39 to 37, which was a great victory, but pretty close voting. However, great excitement prevailed at this time, and John Blair, of the council, standing in a group of friends, pointed to John Robinson, the speaker of the house, whose residence was on the Mattapony, not far from the Pamunkey, and said: "There goes the man who is at the bottom of this hellish scheme." This remark was

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repeated to the house, who, considering it very insulting, complained to the council, of which Blair was a member.[3] He apologized, and there the matter ended. On April 1, 1751, Blair had the satisfaction of laying a foundation brick at the new capitol,[4] and in December he laid the last top brick on the capitol wall. About fifty years before he laid a foundation brick of the first capitol.[5]

Mr. James Skelton had the contract for the building, and the work was pushed so rapidly that, in less than two years' time, the capitol was again fit for occupation. It was described by Mr. Jefferson, in 1790, as follows:

> The only public buildings in the Colony worthy of mention are the capitol, the palace, the college, and the hospital for lunatics, all of them in Williamsburg, heretofore the seat of our government. The capitol is a light and airy structure, with a portico in front of two orders, the lower of which, being Doric, is tolerably just in its proportions and ornaments, save only that the intercolonnations are too large. The upper is Ionic, much too small for that on which it is mounted, its ornaments not proper to the order, nor proportioned within themselves. It is crowned with a pediment, which is too high for its span. Yet, on the whole, it is the most pleasing piece of architecture we have.

After 1779, when the seat of government was removed to Richmond, the capitol building of Williamsburg served George Wythe, professor of law at the college, as a convenient place to hold his moot law courts and legislative sessions.[6] It afterwards served as a court house for the state and federal district courts. In 1794 an act of assembly authorized the pulling down of one-half, to defray the charge of keeping the other half in repair. At last, in 1832, it caught fire and was burned down, and has never been rebuilt.

In 1840 a portion of the brick walls was used for the construction of a female academy, which was in use till the war of 1861-1865, when the school was discontinued; and after several years, the building and lot became the property of the

[3] *Journal of House of Burgesses.*

[4] *William and Mary Coll. Quarterly,* VII., 158.

[5] *Ibid.,* VIII., 16.

[6] *William and Mary Coll. Quarterly,* IX., 80.

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SITE OF OLD CAPITOL.

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Old Dominion Land Company, who pulled the academy down and removed the bricks. In 1897 this company presented the site to the ladies of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, and they have laid bare the ancient foundations of the capitol, and patriotically erected a monument within them. The inscription on the front of this monument commemorates in the following language the more important deeds done on this historic spot:

THE OLD CAPITOL.

Here Patrick Henry first kindled the flames of revolution by his resolutions and speech against the stamp act, May 29-30, 1765.

Here March 12, 1773, Dabney Carr offered, and the House of Burgesses of Virginia unanimously adopted, the resolutions to appoint a committee to correspond with similar committees in the other colonies—the first step taken towards the union of the States.

Here May 15, 1776, the convention of Virginia, through resolutions drafted by Edmund Pendleton, offered by Thomas Nelson, Jr., advocated by Patrick Henry, unanimously called on Congress to declare the colonies free and independent States.

Here June 12, 1776, was adopted by the convention the immortal work of George Mason—the Declaration of Rights—and, on June 29, 1776, the first written constitution of a free and independent State ever framed.

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ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD,
Governor of Virginia from 1710 to 1722.

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V.

The Governor's House or Palace.

In 1705, during the administration of Edward Nott, the general assembly appropriated £3,000 for building a house for the governor, and a kitchen and stable. Henry Cary was made the supervisor of the work, and the house was erected upon 63 acres of land, adjoining the city of Williamsburg, bought of Henry Tyler. The bricks used in the building were made near the spot by Henry Cary, above mentioned.[1] It was still incomplete in 1710, when Spotswood arrived. The general assembly then appropriated £1,560 additional for the palace, and the further sum of £635, to provide a poultry house, cattle house, court-yard, flower garden, orchard, and kitchen garden. But these sums of money, though representing four times their figures in present values, were deemed insufficient, and in 1712 the general asssembly appropriated £900 more.

As finally erected, the palace was two stories high and measured 54 feet in length, by 48 feet in width from inside to inside.

Its roof was of stone-slate, and there was a cupola upon it, which held a lantern capable of illuminating most of the town. The palace was handsomely ornamented within and without, and had fixtures and furniture imported from England. The court-yard was encompassed with a brick wall four feet high, mounted with balustrades, and the flower garden adjoining was 254 feet by 144 feet, protected by a similar wall and balustrades.

Sir John Randolph, in a communication to the *Virginia Gazette*, states that Spotswood, not long after his arrival, discharged Henry Cary, and undertook the supervision of the work himself, and made the palace cost upwards of £6,000[2]

[1] Henry Cary was grandfather of Colonel Archibald Cary, who, on May 15, 1776, reported the resolutions to the Virginia convention in favor of independence. He was father of Henry Cary, who built the president's house and the chapel at the college.

[2] Probably equal to $100,000 in present values.

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sterling, and might have made it cost more, had he been permitted by the assembly to go on wasting money.

Of this palace, Rev. Hugh Jones, in 1723, gives an enthusiastic account. It was a "magnificent structure, finished and beautified with gates, fine gardens, offices, walks, a fine canal, orchards, &c.," and in the building were "stands of the best arms, nicely posited by the ingenious contrivance of the most accomplished Colonel Spotswood." "Upon birthnights and at Balls and Assemblies, I have seen," says he, "as fine an appearance, as good diversion and as splendid entertainment as I have seen anywhere else."

In conformity with the charter of the college, the faculty was obliged to pay each year to the governor two copies of Latin verses every fifth of November, as quit rent for the land given them by King William and Queen Mary. There was always much ceremony at the palace when this anniversary came around, and, one occasion may be noticed. After Spotswood returned from his romantic *Ultramontane Expedition* in 1716, he instituted, in honor of his adventure, the order of the "Knights of the Horseshoe," he was waited on, at the customary time, by Rev. Arthur Blackamore, master of the grammar school, accompanied by Dr. Blair, and presented with some glowing verses in Latin, eulogizing his exploit among the mountains. The concluding lines, as translated by the Rev. George Seagood, of Maryland, were as follows:

> But then, to paint the Joys this Prospect breeds
> From shady Groves, green Banks, and flow'ry Meads,
> And all the Beauties that this Par'dice yields,
> Be it *His* Task, who knows th' *Elysian* Fields.
> After the Hero pass'd the gentle Flood
> Thro' which directly went their mirey Road,
> Regardful of his Charge, he pausing stood:
> He thought, and stood resolved without Delay,
> Homewards to make his retrogressive Way,
> Having for GEORGE his King, Possession took,
> And cut *his Name* in *Ultramontane* Rock.
> Obeying then the dictates of his Mind,
> He streight returned, and left this Scene behind;
> Where he, like *Hercules* in former Days,
> Had made two Mountains, Pillars of his Praise.

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SCENE IN WILLIAMSBURG,
Showing the Offices of the Governor, and the Saunders House to the left.

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Previous to the arrival of Sir William Gooch, the palace was overhauled, and made beautiful in fresh oil and paints, as is shown by the following extract from the proceedings of the council, May 2, 1727:

> Ordered that Henry Cary and John Tyler, gentlemen, be appointed to view the Governor's House, and report that reparations are necessary therein, and the charge thereof, and that the same be forthwith set about. And it is further ordered that the great Dining Room and Parlor thereto adjoining, be new painted, the one of pearl color, the other of cream color; that the window frames, outer doors and *eves* be also new painted; that the pasture fence be put in repair, and that the laborers be hired to assist the gardener in putting the garden in good order.

There is a notice in the *Virginia Gazette* for 1736 of a celebration of King George's birthday. Not only was there a ball at the governor's house, at which there was a handsome appearance of ladies, but cannon and guns were fired, and the town was illuminated.

This governor's house, although interesting for its many associations, was not, however, the structure connected with the scenes of the revolutionary outburst. It was either added to, or pulled down entirely, and another building established on the same spot; for the palace occupied by Fauquier, Botetourt and Dunmore was a much larger edifice than the first building, having a front, it seems, of 74 feet and a depth of 68. We are informed that when Governor Dinwiddie arrived in 1751, a temporary residence was secured for his reception from Dr. Kenneth McKenzie,[3] which stood on the west side of the

[3] The deed of Dr. Kenneth McKenzie and Joanna Tyler, his wife (eldest sister of John Tyler, the marshal), conveys lots 333, 334, 335 and 336 to Hon. Philip Grymes, Esq., "his Majesty's Receiver Generall for the use of his Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor or Commander-in-chief." The house (now known as the "Saunders House"), temporarily occupied by Dinwiddie, stood on one of them, and it had, according to Dinwiddie, "three rooms besides the garret." In a rather belittling reference to Williamsburg by Dr. E. D. Neill, this temporary residence of Dinwiddie, is confounded with the Palace. See Neill's Macallester College *Contributions*, Vol. III.

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palace street, very near the governor's house. It was a brick structure, and, in 1753, having served its purpose, was sold by the colony to Robert Carter Nicholas. It became afterwards the property of Robert Saunders, and its size was much increased by the addition of a wooden front with pillars. It is still standing, and is known as the "Saunders House."

As rebuilt, the palace was flanked on either side by a small brick house—that on the right being the office of the governor; and that on the left, the guard house.

The grounds belonging to the palace comprised 360 acres, and they were beautifully laid out with carriage roads winding through them. Numerous lindens were imported from Scotland and planted in the grounds, and near the house was a large pond, full of choice fish.

On the walls of the great reception room of the palace in Botetourt's time were portraits of the king and queen, and it seems that here, as well as in the council room of the old capitol, was transacted much of the public business of the colony. The elegance and attractions of this society of the colony were recognized by Fauquier, Botetourt and the other governors, and they gave frequent and sumptuous entertainments to the burgesses. On the king's birthday or other festal occasions, they held, like royalty, their "drawing-room" receptions, and received their subjects superbly, standing under the portraits of the king and queen.

One interruption only is afforded to this picture, and that is after Lord Dunmore removed the powder from the colonial magazine; the palace appears at that time in the disagreeable light of a fortress, guarded against the irruption of the outraged Virginians. It was reported that his excellency had arms arranged in rooms on the floor, ready to do execution on any inconsiderate rebel who assaulted him. Not long after he fled with his lady from the palace, never to return, and royalty went with him.

In 1781, during its occupancy by some American troops, immediately after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, the palace was accidentally burned.

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The two brick houses at the side stood till the war of 1861-1865, when they were pulled down by federal troops to furnish chimneys for the huts of the officers at Fort Magruder. These houses had two large rooms on the ground floor, with two garret rooms above, and were each large enough to provide comfortable quarters for a small family.

There is now standing on the site of the palace a brick structure, erected in 1867 out of the money left for a free school by Mrs. Mary Whaley, who died in 1742. The story of this benefaction is romantic.[10] After the collapse of Bacon's rebellion, in 1676, Richard Lawrence, Thomas Whaley and John Forth, three of Bacon's friends, fled to the woods "in snow ankle deep," and were never heard of again. But Thomas Whaley left in York County a son, James Whaley, who became a prominent merchant and justice of the peace. He married Mary Page, daughter of Matthew Page and niece of Colonel John Page. They had an only son, Matthew, who died while a child. Therefore, "to eternalize Mattey's name forever," as she expressed it in her will, Mrs. Whaley established a free school on the east side of Queen Mary's road, leading to the capitol landing (Queen Mary's port), very near the present railroad bridge. Mrs. Whaley's buildings consisted of a school house, the master's house, and a stable. She removed to London and, in 1742, died there leaving a considerable legacy to her school.

But the executor would not pay the money over, and the church wardens of Bruton church in Williamsburg, who had charge of the school, brought suit. Chancery suits are proverbially slow, and this remained undisposed of when the American revolution came on. During that great contest it was forgotten, and not long after the peace, the school property on Queen Mary's road was sold by the overseers of the poor. An English lawyer called attention to the suit in 1859, but it was not till 1867 that the legacy of Mrs. Whaley found its way across the Atlantic. The college authorities agreed to discharge the trust of the will, and the English high court of chancery gener-

[10] See *William and Mary Coll. Quart.*, IV., 3-15.

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TOMBSTONE OF MATTEY WHALEY IN BRUTON CHURCHYARD.

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ously turned the fund over to them. The principal originally was only a few hundred pounds, but it had been bearing interest all that time, and when handed over, amounted to about $8,000, exclusive of lawyer's fees and expenses, which were considerable. The palace lots had come into the hands of the college by this time, and the authorities used most of the fund to erect upon the site of the palace the brick house mentioned, and in it they now maintain "The Matthew Whaley Observation and Practice School," in connection with the normal course of the college. Nearby, in the churchyard, may be read this inscription:

MATTHEW WHALEY lyes Interred here
Within this Tomb upon his Father dear,
Who Departed
This Life the 26th of
September 1705, Aged
Nine years, only child
of JAMES WHALEY
and MARY, his wife.

The "old palace" stood on the north side of the city, at the head of a street 210 feet wide, which crossed the main street, near the center of the town. This street has been turned into a green called "Palace Green," and on each side is a street about thirty feet wide.

In the rear of the palace is a large mound, which has a deep wall of brick, supposed to have been "Lord Dunmore's wine-cellar."

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VI.

The State Prison.

By an act passed in August, 1701, a brick prison was erected at the east end of Williamsburg for the use of the colony. It was ordered to be 30 feet long and 20 feet wide in the clear. There were three rooms on the lower floor, of which the two small ones were for the confinement of prisoners of the two sexes respectively, and the third and larger room, together with the chambers overhead, was for the jailer and his family. At one end was built a wall ten feet high, enclosing, for the recreation of the prisoners, an area of ground twenty feet square.

The brick building stood adjoining the capitol grounds, and was quaintly described by Mr. Jones "as a strong, sweet Prison," near which rose also "a debtor's prison," though it rarely had occupants, "the creditors in Virginia being very merciful." Within this prison first named were confined the associates of Black-Beard, the pirate, who were executed on the road to Capitol Landing Creek in 1718. Here also, by the order of the council, was kept in shackles, (because of his crime in inciting the Indians to murder and pillage), Henry Hamilton, governor-general of Detroit (called "the scalp taker"), who was captured by General George Rogers Clark at Vincennes, in the Illinois territory, February 24, 1779, and sent over-land to Williamsburg.

After the removal of the capital to Richmond, the state prison was made use of by Williamsburg and James City County for a jail. It continued in use till the war (1861-1865), when a great part of this old building was pulled down by the federal soldiers. After hostilities ceased, it was partially restored. Like all the old prisons, however, it was a comfortless, insecure structure, and recently a new building, with steel cages and some modern comforts, has been erected for the city jail, on the old market square, convenient to the present court-house.

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VII.

Powder Magazine.

In order to protect the arms and ammunition of the colony sent over by Queen Anne's government, the general assembly of Virginia, in 1714, was induced by Governor Spotswood to erect a magazine at a cost not exceeding £200. It was made of brick in the Flemish bond, had octagonal sides, and tapered to a point like a powder horn, by which name it is sometimes called. It was located on the public square, in the centre of England street. Its massive walls have a thickness of 22 inches, and it was surrounded by a brick enclosure about 10 feet high, also octagonally shaped, and having parallel sides distant 21 feet from the sides of the magazine.

The building was placed in charge of a "keeper" and an "armourer," who each received a salary of £20.

This building became historic when Lord Dunmore, the day after the battle of Lexington, removed from it the powder to the Magdalene armed schooner, stationed in James river, at Burwell's Ferry, about six miles from Williamsburg, which arbitrary act threw the whole of Virginia into a ferment and occasioned the first assemblying of an armed force in the colony in opposition to royal authority. It is, therefore, considered as the "boiling point" of revolution in Virginia.

After the peace in 1783, the magazine had a chequered and varied experience. It was first used as a market house; then, when the Baptists organized in Williamsburg, it served them as a meeting house. When the present Baptist church of Doric architecture was erected in 1855, the brick wall around the magazine was pulled down to provide the foundations. After this the magazine served two years for a dancing school. In 1861 it once more resumed its original character, and became an arsenal under the confederates. After the war it was sold by the town authorities, without much shadow of right, and

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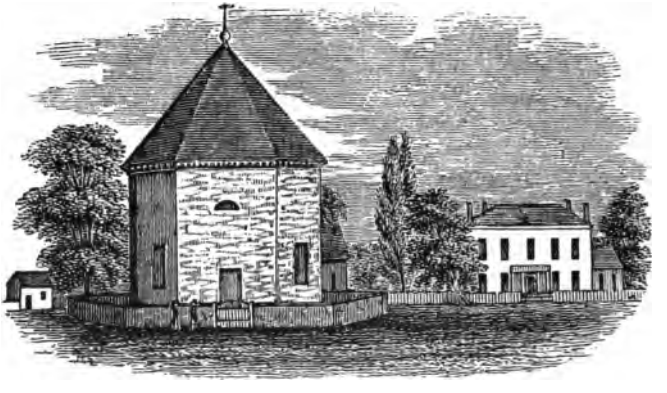
became a stable. From this degrading service it was rescued in 1890 by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, who purchased it of its owner, repaired its walls, and converted it into a museum.



POWDER MAGAZINE, AS IT ORIGINALLY APPEARED.
(The building to the right is the Bright House, now burned.)

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VIII.

The Theatre.

The first recorded notice of a play performed in any part of the present United States occurs in the Accomack County, Va., records for 1665. In that year several persons were reported to the court for acting a play called "Ye Bare & ye Cubb."

That the court might judge of the propriety of their conduct, the actors were required to appear in their play costumes and repeat the verses and speeches of the play. They did so, and the court finding nothing objectionable, dismissed the actors and ordered the busy informant to pay all costs.

After this, although the records of the colony are silent, it is not to be supposed that there were not frequent plays at Jamestown under the rule of Sir William Berkeley, himself a play writer and a frequenter of the theatre in London. The fact that in 1702 "a pastoral colloquy" was recited by the scholars of William and Mary College before the governor in Williamsburg is indicative of an active interest felt by the Virginia people in such things, which doubtless was manifested in frequent but unreported exhibitions on the theatrical boards.

At length, in 1716, when Williamsburg, to which the seat of government had been removed, in 1699, from Jamestown, had taken on something of the appearance of a town, there arrived the first regular "backer" of a regular theatrical business. This was William Levingston, who, for some time previous, had been managing, in New Kent County, a peripatetic dancing school, in which the "star" dancers were Charles Stagg and his wife Mary.

There is a contract recorded at Yorktown, dated July 11, 1716, by which William Levingston merchant, agrees with Charles and Mary Stagg, his wife, "actors," to build a theatre in Williamsburg, and to provide actors, scenery, and music out of England, "for the enacting of comedies and tragedies in said city."

On November 21, 1716, William Levingston purchased

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three half-acre lots, 163, 164 and 169, and erected thereon a dwelling house, kitchen and stable. He laid out also a bowling alley and built a theatre, and purchased an acre more (lots 176 and 177) for a garden.[1] We have good reason to suppose, then, that the play which Alexander Spotswood mentions as acted before him on his majesty's birthday, in 1718, was performed in this theatre, and by Charles Stagg and his company. In his description of Williamsburg, in 1722, Rev. Hugh Jones says: "Not far from hence (*i. e.*, the church and James City County court-house) is a large area for a market place, near which is a play-house and a good bowling green."

Mr. Stagg died in Williamsburg in 1735, and his wife survived him. From the *Virginia Gazette* in 1736 we learn that after the death of her husband, she earned her living by holding dancing "assemblies." She had a rival in Mrs. Barbara de Graffenreidt, a daughter-in-law of Count Christopher de Graffenreidt, who founded Newbern in North Carolina. The admission fee to these assemblies was high—half a pistole or about $1.90—making them rather select affairs.

In the issue of the *Gazette* for September 10, 1736, as showing that the theatrical spirit still prevailed, appeared an advertisement, that that evening the "young Gentlemen of the College" would perform at the theatre the "tragedy of Cato," and that on Monday, Wednesday and Friday next would be acted by the "gentlemen and ladies of this country" "The Busy Body," "The Recruiting Officer," and the "Beaux Strategem."

A little later, in the *Gazette* for October 22, there is this mock advertisement:

ADVERTISEMENT.—Whereas a Gentleman Who towards the latter end of the Summer usually wore a Blue Camlet coat lined with Red and trimmed with Silver, a silver laced hat and a Turpee wig, has often been observed by his Amoret, to look very languishingly at her, the said Amoret, and particularly one night during the last session at Assembly, at the Theatre, the said Gentleman ogled her in such a manner as shewed him to be very far gone, the said Amoret desires the Gentleman to take the first handsome opportunity that offers to explain himself on that subject.—N. B. She believes that he has very pretty teeth.

[1] York County Records.

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This public notice was doubtless a great joke directed against the town dude, whoever he was.

The York County records enable us to follow very accurately the fortune of this oldest play-house in America.

On May 29, 1721, Mr. Levingston mortgaged the lots on which it stood to Dr. Archibald Blair for 500 years, and as he defaulted in the payment, Blair brought an ejectment suit, and on December 16, 1723, was granted a writ of *habere facias possessionem*. On February 20, 1735, John Blair, executor of Archibald Blair, conveyed the property to Dr. George Gilmer for 155 pounds; and the latter, some time after, for 50 pounds, sold the play-house, and "six feet all round" to a stock company consisting of thirty-one of the first men of the colony. What this colony did in the way of promoting theatrical enjoyment, we may never know, as we have no newspapers from 1738 till 1751. The deed books at Yorktown state, however, that in 1745 the theatre "had not been put to any use for several years;" and in that year, on the humble supplication of the city authorities, the building was surrendered by the shareholders for a town hall.

Dr. George Gilmer had his drug store and residence in the house built by William Levingston, and this property, with the lots, exclusive of the theatre and six feet around it, was sold to Thomas Knox, who, in 1764, conveyed them to John Tazewell. After the new court-house was built in 1770, the mayor, recorder, aldermen and common council sold to Tazewell their interest in the lots "whereon the Play-house stood." William Levingston, who had the outstanding fee after the expiration of the 500 years, died without issue, and Tazewell, by patenting his rights, became possessed of the whole title. In 1779 he sold the lots to Edmund Randolph, who, in a short time, disposed of them to Judge St. George Tucker, and they are now owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. Cynthia Beverley Tucker Coleman. It is probable that portion of the old residence now standing on these lots was the original residence of William Levingston.

The year 1751 saw a revival of interest in the drama in Williamsburg. A company of comedians, who had been playing

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By Permission of the Honble ROBERT DINWIDDIE,
Esq. His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander in
Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia.

By a Company of COMEDIANS, from LONDON,
At the THEATRE in WILLIAMSBURG,
On Friday next, being the 15th of September, will be presented,
A PLAY, Call'd,

THE
MERCHANT of VENICE.
(Written by Shakespear.)
The Part of ANTONIO (the Merchant) to be performed by
Mr. CLARKSON.
GRATIANO, by Mr. SINGLETON.
Lorenzo, (with Songs in Character) by Mr. ADCOCK.
The Part of BASSANIO to be performed by
Mr. RIGBY.
Duke, by Mr. Wynell.
Salonio, by Mr. Herbert.
The Part of LAUNCELOT, by Mr. HALLAM.
And the Part of SHYLOCK, (the Jew) to be performed by
Mr. MALONE.
The Part of NERISSA, by Mrs. ADCOCK.
Jessica, by Mrs. Rigby.
And the Part of PORTIA, to be performed by
Mrs. HALLAM.
With a new occasional PROLOGUE.
To which will be added a FARCE, &c.
The ANATOMIST;
OR,
SHAM DOCTOR.
The Part of Mr. Gaz & Madrid, by
Mr. RIGBY.
And the Part of BEATRICE, by Mrs. ADCOCK.
[illegible]
[illegible]
To begin at the [illegible]

Pivot Key.

ADVERTISEMENT IN THE VIRGINIA GAZETTE OF THE MERCHANT OF VENICE.

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for the previous two years in New York and Philadelphia, gave notice in the *Gazette* for August 29, 1751, of their intention to visit Williamsburg and build a play-house there. Two lots on the "eastern side of Eastern street" (Waller street), just back of the capitol, were selected for this purpose, and on them the new play-house was erected. In the deed dated September 2, 1751, to Alexander Finnie, keeper of the Raleigh Tavern, who acted as agent for the company, these lots are numbered as 21 and 22 on the plan of land added to the city in 1756 by Benjamin Waller.[2]

The managers of this company were Charles Somerset Woodham, Walter Murray and Thomas Kean. They opened the season in the colony on October 21, 1751, with the tragedy of "King Richard the Third." They remained in Virginia till the following June, playing at various places, Williamsburg, Norfolk, Petersburg, Hobbes' Hole (Tappahannock) and Fredericksburg. The prices of admission in Williamsburg were: Boxes, 7 shillings, six pence; pit, 5 shillings, 9 pence; and gallery, 3 shillings, 9 pence. During the period of their stay in the colony much festivity prevailed.

Not long after their arrival, Governor Ogle, of Maryland, and his secretary of state, Edmund Jenings, Esq., visited Williamsburg. And a little later, arrived the new governor of Virginia, Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, with his wife and daughters. The event was celebrated with music and feasting. The professors at the college caught the infection of gaiety, and there is this entry in the diary of John Blair, November 16 (1751): "This evening Mr. Preston (professor of moral philosophy), to prevent the young gentlemen at the college from trying at a rehearsal in the dormitory how they could act 'Cato' privately among themselves, did himself act the "Drunken Peasant,' but his tearing down the curtains is to me very surprising."

What a curious age, when young ladies, who would have thought it highly improper to have gone out after dark with a young man, without papa or mamma, attended the plays written by Wycherley, Congreve and Farquhar; and grave

[2] The plan of these lots is attached to the deed recorded at Yorktown.

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professors, with ministerial coats, saw no impropriety in acting in public the part of an intoxicated boor.

Within two weeks after the departure of this company from Virginia, arrived from London "the London Company of Comedians." It is said to have been the first regular company of playwrights who ever came from England. The visit to America was prospected by William Hallam, the son of Adam Hallam, an actor once familiar to the London public. His mother-in-law was the famous Mrs. Hallam, who had played at Covent Garden. William Hallam himself was manager of the "New Theatre in Goodmanfields, London." He did not come to Virginia, but his brother, Lewis Hallam, Sr., represented him as manager.

On their arrival in Williamsburg Lewis Hallam obtained from Alexander Finnie a transfer of the lots on which the play-house stood and altered it, (as their notices in the newspapers state) into "a regular theatre, fit for the reception of ladies and gentlemen." This building was a homely wooden structure, resembling a tobacco barn, and stood on the edge of the woods, which then came close up to Eastern or Waller street.[3]

On the first Friday in September, 1752, they opened the season with "the Merchant of Venice." The prologue[4] spoken by Mr. Rigby, is said to to have been the first ever spoken in America, and was composed on shipboard by Mr. Singleton, another of the company. During this visit, little Lewis Hallam, son of the manager, afterwards the star of the American stage, made his first appearance before an American public. He was then a boy of twelve years, and having only one line to say, was so frightened that he remained speechless, till, bursting into tears, he rushed off the stage.

At a performance given November 9, 1752, the "emperor" and "empress" of the Cherokee nation and their son were present. On this occasion "Othello" and a pantomime com-

[3] Dunlap, *American Theatre.*

[4] *William and Mary Coll. Quart.*, XIII., 9.

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prised the bill. During the performance the Indian empress was so alarmed at the fighting with naked swords on the stage, that she ordered one of her attendants to go and prevent the actors from killing each other.

The next day Mr. Lewis Hallam, Sr., the manager, appeared in a new role. Being the anniversary of the king's birthday, there was a very splendid and elegant entertainment at the palace, where the Indian guests and a great company of ladies and gentlemen were present. Mr. Hallam had charge of some beautiful fire-works exhibited in the streets before the governor's house. The chief musician in Williamsburg about this time was Cuthbert Ogle, whose inventory[5] of effects shows a fine collection of sonatas and concertos by English composers, and many books of Handel's songs and oratorios. He was succeeded by Peter Pelham, the organist of Bruton church.

There were, however, some bad people in Williamsburg, even in those good old days. On the night of December 1, 1752, the play-house was broken open by a white man and two negroes, who dangerously injured a servant of the company by impaling him upon the iron spikes of the theatre, where he hung for a considerable time.

The Hallam company remained in the colony eleven months, performing with "universal applause," and then they went to New York. After this time plays and players were very frequent in Virginia. Indeed, nowhere in America during the colonial period did the dramatic muse receive a more enthusiastic welcome. Rev. Samuel Davies arraigned the colony in 1755 on the ground that "Plays and Romances" were "more read than the history of the blessed Jesus."

In 1768 Williamsburg was very gay. There was no end of dinner parties, music and dancing. Peyton Randolph gave a dinner at the Raleigh Tavern, which was the talk of the whole province. Elegant receptions were held by the governor at his "palace" in Williamsburg, where the ladies and gentlemen appeared in brilliant court costumes.

[5] *William and Mary Coll. Quarterly*, III., 251.

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In the early part of this year (1768), the "Virginia Company of Comedians" gave a season of two months, and on May 2, Washington, who was very fond of theatre-going, wrote in his daily records of "where and how my time is spent," that "he went to Williamsburg with Colo. Bassett, Colo. Lewis, and Mr. Dick. Dined with Mrs. Dawson—and went to the Play." This is only one of many similar references to hours spent by Washington at the theatre.

Of all these years of social pleasure, the year 1771 was the most full in dramatic enjoyment. After the close of a season in Philadelphia, the Hallam company, which had experienced many changes, reappeared in Williamsburg, under the name of the "American Company of Comedians." Lewis Hallam was now at his best, and his main support was his cousin, Miss Sarah Hallam. This young lady, previous to her appearance in Virginia, had evoked unlimited praise from the poets of Maryland, who compared her face unto Cytherea's, and her form with Diana's. As a tribute to her beauty and art, Charles Wilson Peale had painted her portrait in her role of *Imogene*. There is a letter[6] of Colonel Hudson Muse, of Virginia, which states that he went to the play in Williamsburg "every night for eleven nights," and found Miss Hallam "superfine." The diary of General Washington shows that he was a constant attendant at the theatre in Williamsburg during this season.

At these entertainments, Peter Pelham, the organist of Bruton church, furnished the musical accompaniments.

Sarah Hallam, the beautiful actress, lived afterwards for many years in Williamsburg, where she taught dancing and had a fashionable boarding school for young ladies.[7]

The American revolution suspended theatrical engagements everywhere, and after the transfer of the seat of government of Virginia to Richmond in 1779, Williamsburg became a quiet college village, and was seldom visited by "star actors." Like its predecessor on the Palace Green, the theatre by the capitol has long since disappeared.

[6] *William and Mary Quarterly*, II., 239.

[7] *Ibid.*, XII., 236.

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IX.

The Raleigh Tavern.

This was a large wooden building, which occupied lot 54 on the north side of the Duke of Gloucester Street, between Botetourt Street and the capitol. It was two stories in height, lit by eight dormer windows. A leaden bust of Sir Walter Raleigh stood in a niche over the front door.

It was probably built by Dr. Archibald Blair, to whom it belonged, before 1735. Probably Henry Wetherburn was the first to keep ordinary in the building, as there is a curious deed recorded in Goochland County, and dated 1736, whereby William Randolph, of Tuckahoe, in that county, sells 200 acres of land to Peter Jefferson (father of Thomas Jefferson), for the quaint consideration of Henry Wetherburn's "biggest bowl of arrack punch."

In 1742 Dr. Blair sold the property to a company consisting of John Dixon, David Meade, Patrick Barclay, Alexander McKenzie and James Murray, but it appears that the ordinary was still kept by Henry Wetherburn.[1]

In 1749 John Dixon & Co. sold the Raleigh Tavern to Alexander Finnie, who kept the ordinary till August, 1752, when he sold the property for 700 £, Virginia currency, to Colonel John Chiswell and Dr. George Gilmer.

It passed afterwards to William Trebell, and he, in 1767, sold the Raleigh Tavern to Anthony Hay, a wealthy cabinet maker.

It was while Anthony Hay controlled the tavern that the first incident occurred which gave it an historic character. In

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[1] Henry Wetherburn married July 11, 1751, Anne Shields, daughter of Jean Marot, a French Huguenot. She married (1) James Inglis, son of Mungo Inglis, first grammar master of William and Mary College; (2) James Shields; (3) Henry Wetherburn. Both Jean Marot and James Shields kept ordinary. Mrs. Shields' daughter by the second husband was Anne Shields, who married Robert Armistead, of York county, and they were grandparents of President John Tyler.

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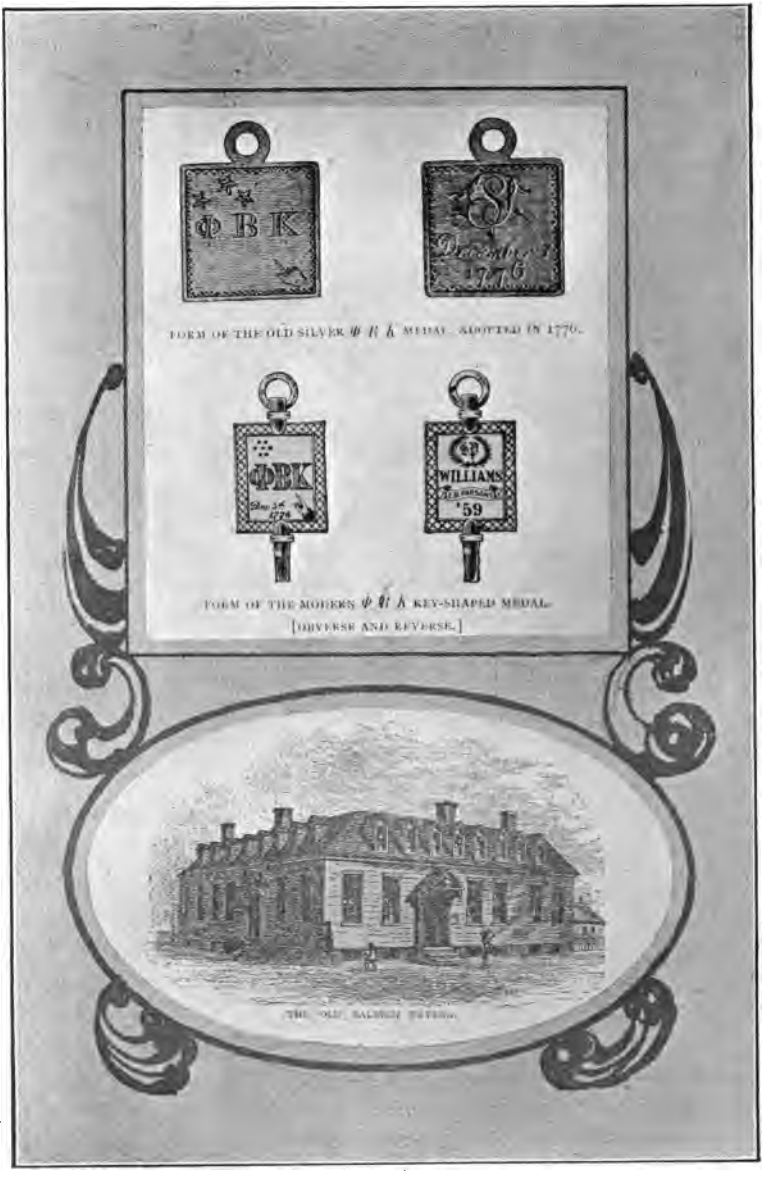

FORM OF THE OLD SILVER Φ Β Κ MEDAL. ADOPTED IN 1779.

FORM OF THE MODERN Φ Β Κ KEY-SHAPED MEDAL.
[OBVERSE AND REVERSE.]

THE "OLD SALMON TAVERN."

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February, 1769, parliament advised the king to transport persons accused of treason in America for trial in Great Britain. Upon receiving intelligence of this measure, the burgesses of Virginia passed warm resolutions, denouncing it. Lord Botetourt, who was then governor, at once dissolved the assembly, and the burgesses repaired in a body to the Raleigh Tavern, and in the room called "the Apollo," adopted a non-importation agreement.

Anthony Hay was the father of the famous lawyer, George Hay,[2] who prosecuted Aaron Burr. He died in 1772, and the Raleigh Tavern was sold by his executor to James Barret Southall.

In 1774 when Lord Dunmore dissolved the assembly for making an indignant protest against the act of parliament, shutting up the port of Boston, and setting June 1, as a day of fast, the burgesses repaired to the Raleigh and adopted resolutions against the use of tea and other East India commodities.

On December 5, 1776, the Phi Beta Kappa Society was organized at the tavern, and annually afterwards, till its suspension in 1781, it held its meetings there in the Apollo.

The Apollo was the main room in the tavern, and the word means "a banqueting room," such as Lucullus had in his stately villa. It was well lit, having a deep fireplace, on each side of which a door opened, with carved wainscoting beneath the windows and above the mantelpiece. Over the mantelpiece and near the cornice was a Latin motto, *Hilaritas sapientiae et bonae vitae proles* (mirth is the offspring of wisdom and a good life.) This room witnessed probably more scenes of brilliant festivity and political excitement than any other single apartment in North America. Sir William Gooch, and perhaps even Spotswood, were familiar with this old apartment. Dinwiddie and Botetourt, on their arrival in Virginia, supped here in state, and, with the advent of the Revolution, it grew suddenly popular as a meeting place of the patriots. It had long been used for balls and assemblies, and in 1764 we find Jeffer-

[2] George Hay married Eliza, daughter of President James Monroe.

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son, then a gay young man, studying in the law office of George Wythe, writing from "Devilsburg," as he called Williamsburg, that he was as happy on the night before as "dancing with Belinda in the Apollo could make him." This ancient room saw indeed, at one time or another, all that was brilliant and graceful in the Virginia society of the eighteenth century.

The Raleigh Tavern continued the place for all extraordinary meetings, balls, banquets, &c., in Williamsburg for three-quarters of a century later. It was burned in 1859.

The brick store of L. W. Lane & Son occupies at present its ancient site. The pedestal on which the bust of Sir Walter Raleigh sat over the entrance is still preserved.

APOLLO ROOM IN THE RALEIGH TAVERN.

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X.

The Printing Office.[1]

This was a small wooden building on lot 48, on the north side of Duke of Gloucester Street. It was standing as late as March, 1896, when it was destroyed by fire, along with several other old wooden houses adjoining. In the ashes were found some old type. The first printer was William Parks, who issued from this office the first copy of the *Virginia Gazette,* August 6, 1736. This first Virginia paper was a sheet about twelve inches by six inches, and was published at 15 shillings per annum. William Parks, the editor, printed in Williamsburg, in 1729, "The Laws of Virginia," in 1736, the charter and laws of William and Mary College, and in 1749 the History of Virginia by William Stith. He died in 1750, and William Hunter, deputy-postmaster-general under Benjamin Franklin, revived the paper in February, 1751. He died in August, 1761.

The paper was then enlarged and published by Joseph Royle, Hunter's brother-in-law. Joseph Royle died in 1766, and Alexander Purdie succeeded him. Purdie formed a partnership with John Dixon, who married the widow of Joseph Royle. This partnership continued till December, 1774, when John Dixon formed a partnership with William Hunter, son of the first William Hunter. In 1779 Thomas Nicholson was a partner in place of William Hunter in the publication of the *Virginia Gazette.* In April, 1780, the editors of this paper (Dixon and Nicholson) removed their office to Richmond, where John Dixon died in 1791, very much esteemed.

In 1766, at the instance of Thomas Jefferson and other patriots, William Rind established a second *Gazette* in Williamsburg, which championed the popular cause. He was printer to the colony and died in 1773, after which his paper was carried on by his widow, Clementina Rind till her death, two years later, when the paper was published by John Pinkney, who soon moved to North Carolina, and died there in 1777.

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[1] See "Old Virginia Editors" in *William and Mary Col. Quart.,* VII., 9-17.

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In 1775, there were three *Virginia Gazettes* published in Williamsburg, the two above named, and a third by Alexander Purdie, who had dissolved partnership with John Dixon.[2] He became printer for the State in 1775, and died in 1779. He was succeeded by his apprentice and nephew, John Clarkson, who formed a co-partnership with Augustine Davis. They were printers to the state in 1779. The same year Davis removed to Richmond, where, as editor of the *Virginia Gazette*, he was the first editor of a newspaper in that place. John Adams appointed him postmaster of Richmond.

After the removal of the capital to Richmond, a *Gazette* was published in Williamsburg from time to time. Just before the war (1861-1865), Mr. E. H. Lively published a paper under that name. During the war the federal troops seized the printing office and published a paper called *The Williamsburg Cavalier*. After the war, Mr. B. F. Long published the *Virginia Gazette,* which was revived by Mr. W. C. Johnston in 1893, and is still continued.

At the printing office on lot 48 was the post-office and book-store, which last contained an excellent collection of the best books on all kinds of subjects.

[2] Dixon and Hunter's appeared every Saturday; Pinkney's every Wednesday and Saturday; and Purdie's every Friday.

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XI.

Williamsburg Jail.

Until 1744 the city had no jail of its own, but used the James City County jail, near the James City court-house, at the southwest corner of England and Francis streets. In that year the general assembly passed an act, authorizing the town hall to levy a tax for the building of a jail of its own "for the commitment of debtors, criminals and offenders." This house was erected on the old market square, and has been recently restored by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. After the removal of the seat of government, the city made use of the public prison at the east end, which was of much greater capacity.

Williamsburg Jail, erected in 1744.

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XII.

James City County Court-House.

Notwithstanding the removal, in 1699, of the capital of the colony to Williamsburg, Jamestown remained for several years the seat of the court-house for James City County. In 1705 a new court-house was built at Jamestown out of bricks from the walls of the ruined state house. In 1715 Williamsburg was made the county seat, and soon after a county court-house and prison were erected on the market square, near the powder magazine, at the southwestern corner of England and Francis streets.

After the present court-house on the main street was erected in 1770, the James City County court-house was sold to Robert Carter Nicholas, and served for many years as an office to a large building, which was the residence, in 1837, of John Tyler and afterwards of Samuel F. Bright.[1] Not many years ago this old court-house was pulled down, but its massive chimney still stands—a picturesque relic of the past. It should be preserved.

[1] The "Bright House" was destroyed by fire, in 1873.

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XIII.

County and City Court-House.

Till 1745 the city authorities used the James City court-house for a town hall, having no building of their own. In that year "the Gentlemen subscribers for the Play House," on the corner of Nicholson street and the Palace Green, gave to the city their theatre building, erected in 1716 by William Levingston. This building was used for 24 years, when the following notice appeared in the *Virginia Gazette,* Williamsburg, March 16, 1769:

> The Common Hall having this day determined to build a commodious brick court-house in this city and having appointed us to agree with and undertake to build the same, we do hereby give notice that we shall meet at Mr. Hay's[1] on Tuesday, the 4th of April, to let the building thereof; we are also appointed to dispose of the present court-house, and the ground on which the same stands. James Cocke, James Carter, John Carter, John Tazewell.

At the session in 1770, the general assembly added a part of the market square on the north of Duke of Gloucester Street, then in the county of York, to the county of James City, and upon this tract the county of James City and the city of Williamsburg erected a brick court-house at their joint expense.

The proportions of this building have often been admired. The present stone steps were imported[2] from England in 1772, and their receipt is acknowledged by President William Nelson in a letter copied into his letter book, at present in the library of the Episcopal Seminary near Alexandria. The court-house building is still standing, and is regularly used for the original purposes of its erection. Probably about the same time the brick clerk's office, which stood near the magazine, was erected. This building was pulled down by federal soldiers during the late war, and the bricks removed to Fort Magruder.

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[1] Mr. Hay kept the Raleigh Tavern.

[2] *William and Mary Coll. Quart.*, VII., 29.

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COUNTY AND CITY COURT-HOUSE.

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XIV.

Hospital for the Insane.

In 1766 four persons of disordered mind were held in confinement in the public jail in Williamsburg, and on November 6, Governor Francis Fauquier recommended to the general assembly the establishment of a hospital for the insane. The assembly took the matter up and ordered a bill to be introduced, but it was three years before it passed into law. In the meantime the four unfortunates in Williamsburg were committed to the custody of a private asylum in Philadelphia. At the session of 1769-1770, the general assembly appointed "John Blair, William Nelson, Thomas Nelson, Robert Carter, and Peyton Randolph, esquires, and Robert Carter Nicholas, John Randolph, Benjamin Waller, John Blair, Jr., George Wythe, Dudley Digges, Jr., Lewis Burwell, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Thomas Everard and John Tazewell, esquires," trustees for the founding of a public hospital "for the reception of idiots, lunatics, and other persons of unsound mind." This institution was the first of its kind in the United States.

Four acres on the south of Francis street were purchased of Dr. Thomas Walker, of Albemarle County, the distinguished explorer, and upon this lot Benjamin Powell contracted to erect a large brick building for £1,070. The plans and specifications, which were furnished by Robert Smith, of Philadelphia, April 9, 1770, provided for a hall, a staircase, and behind them a keeper's apartment and twelve other rooms, "chiefly for the reception of mad people." There was a second story also, with twelve rooms, and a room over the keeper's room for the sessions of the "court of directors."

The bricks were made near the spot, but the stone steps to the building were imported from England.

On Tuesday, September 14, 1773, the Honorable Thomas Nelson, Esq., called a meeting of the court of directors to inform them that the hospital was completed, and thereupon

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HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE,
From a Lithograph taken about 1850.

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James Galt was appointed keeper or superintendent. On October 12, 1773, the first person of unusual mind was admitted, and at this court Dr. John de Sequeyra was appointed physician to the hospital.

There is a book preserved containing the proceedings of the court of directors from the foundation of the hospital till the year 1801. From this I glean the following facts in addition to what has been already stated. The presidents of the court of directors during the interval were John Blair, 1769-1773; William Nelson, 1771-1772; General Thomas Nelson, 1772-1786; Dudley Digges, 1786-1788; Rev. James Madison, 1788-1790; Rev. John Bracken, 1790-1791; Rev. Doctor James Madison, 1791-1801.

Doctor John de Sequeyra[1] was succeeded in 1793 by Doctors John Minson Galt and Philip Barraud, who were physicians to the hospital. November 1, 1794, Joseph Hornsby resigned as treasurer of the hospital. At this time the hospital contained thirty inmates, several of them negroes. Among the new directors appointed after the first meeting of the court were John Camm, John Blair, Jr., Dr. James Blair, Robert Andrews, James Innis, Henry Tazewell, Nathaniel Burwell, John Dixon, Joseph Prentis, John C. Byrd, Benjamin Carter Waller, Robert Saunders, Robert H. Waller, Champion Travis, Robert Greenhow, Cyrus Griffin, James Henderson, Littleton Tazewell, James Semple, George Carter and William Tazewell, among the prominent names in Virginia.

The old hospital building was destroyed by fire in June, 1885, and it is believed that none of the first structures are now standing except a small frame house, within the grounds, formerly the residence of Superintendent James Galt. The institution has largely developed, and now cares for [redacted]642 inmates, of whom 338 are males and 304 are females.[2]

[1] Dr. Sequeyra was probably one of the educated Italians, who came with Philip Mazzei to this country.

[2] An important and valuable history of the hospital was written by Dr. L. S. Foster, superintendent from 1895 to 1907, and included in one of his annual reports.

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XV.

Masonic Lodge.

On the north side of Francis street, near the powder magazine, stands a small dilapidated framed building, two stories high, which was the Masonic Lodge of Williamsburg. This lodge was at its best from 1773 to 1786; for among its members were several men of national reputation, such as John James Beckley, first clerk of the house of representatives and first librarian of congress, Simeon Deane, brother of Silas Deane; Samuel Hardy, Dr. James McClurg, James Monroe, George Nicholas, Peyton Randolph, William Short, Henry Tazewell and St. George Tucker. There is a beautiful chair embellished with masonic emblems, artistically carved, which was used by the grand master, and in which, it is stated, Washington sat several times while visiting the lodge. It is said to have been presented to the lodge by Governor Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt. There is evidence that Williamsburg lodge was in existence prior to 1751, but it was not chartered till 1773.[1]

In 1775, when Peyton Randolph, provincial grand master of masons, died, his funeral was conducted with much ceremony by the masons of Williamsburg. A subscription was raised for a portrait by Peale, and we have the information from Mr. T. H. Wynne's sketch of the Bolling family, that "a very beautiful full-length portrait of Peyton Randolph, represented in full masonic costume, was some years since destroyed by fire in the library of congress in Washington." It was probably this portrait.

On May 6, 1777, in consequence of a proposition from the Williamsburg lodge, the worshipful masters and wardens, or their deputies, met in Williamsburg for the purpose of selecting a grand master. The office was offered, first, to George Wash-

[1] See "Williamsburg Lodge of Masons" in *William and Mary College Quart.*, I., 1-33.

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ington, who declined, and then to Warner Lewis, of Gloucester County, who also declined. At a meeting on October 13, 1778, John Blair, master of Williamsburg lodge, was nominated and unanimously elected grand master of masons for the State of Virginia, and accepted the position.

John Blair was the son of President John Blair, of the Virginia council, who was the son of Dr. Archibald Blair, brother of the founder and first president of William and Mary College. He was one of the chancellors of the state, a judge of the supreme court, and finally associate justice of the United States, in which last office he died, August 31, 1800.

Blair's jewel of office as grand master is still preserved in Williamsburg in a branch of his family.

Among other relics of the early days preserved by the lodge is an old book kept by the treasurer from 1773 to 1786, which gives many details. This book informs us that the initiation fee in 1774 was £4; fee for passing 20s.; and for raising to master's degree, 20s. The quarterly dues were 5s.; and absences were fined 1s., 3d. The lodge was full of charitable works, and appears to have taken under its entire charge two orphan children of William Rind, one of the printers of the *Gazette,* including the expense of boarding, clothing and schooling them.

The annual meeting of the lodge, at which accounts were settled and officers elected, was on the feast day of St. John, the Baptist. Then the lodge was well attended; and the items in the accounts for sugar, rum, and brandy seem to indicate that there were merry hours spent in the tavern of Gabriel Maupin, where the members met to dine on such occasions.

This venerable masonic building, after passing into private hands, has again come into the possession of Williamsburg lodge, and measures are being taken to have it repaired and restored.

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1. The Botetourt Masonic Chair. 2. The Old Masonic Lodge.

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XVI.

Noted Residences.

Blair House.—This house is a good example of the early Williamsburg residence. It is a long, framed structure, one story and a half, with two entrances, approached by stone steps, evidently imported from England. In the style of the time, the house has two very large chimneys. It is stated that this old residence was formerly the house of John Blair, Jr., associate justice of the United States. About 1790 it belonged to Robert Andrews, professor of mathematics in the college, and secretary to Governor Thomas Nelson. It seems to occupy lot 36 on the map of Williamsburg.

Six Chimney Lot.—This lot lies on the south side of Francis street, in the eastern portion of the hospital park, and gets its name from the six chimneys which once stood there, the houses to which they belonged having perished by fire. This lot was formerly owned by Colonel John Custis, who died in 1749, leaving it to his son, Daniel Parke Custis. George Washington married the latter's widow, Martha Dandridge, and adopted her son, John Parke Custis, and when visiting Williamsburg, would stay at the Custis residence. All that remains at present to remind us of its past inhabitants is a brick kitchen and a large yew tree, said to have been planted with Mrs. Washington's hands.

Wythe House.—This is a fine, square brick house of two stories, situated on the east side of the Palace Green, next to the church-yard. It was erected by Richard Taliaferro about 1760, and by him, in his will, in 1775, left to the celebrated lawyer, George Wythe, who married his daughter, Elizabeth. The will provided that, at Judge Wythe's death it should descend to his grandson, Richard Taliaferro. Mr. Wythe was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, at one time sole chancellor of Virginia, and first professor of law in William and Mary

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NOTED RESIDENCES.

1. Peyton Randolph House. 2. Peachy House (Warburton).
3. Bassett Hall.

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College. He devised the beautiful seal of Virginia, as well as the seal of the chancery court. When Washington, in pursuit of Lord Cornwallis, arrived in Williamsburg in 1781, he made this building his headquarters—a fact fully authenticated by a letter of Colonel St. George Tucker.

SAUNDERS HOUSE.—The brick portion of this house was occupied by Governor Dinwiddie in 1751, when the palace was being repaired. It was later the residence of Robert Carter Nicholas, treasurer of the colony, and later still the property of Robert Saunders, who married Lucy, daughter of Governor John Page. He was president of the college, 1846-1848.

TUCKER HOUSE.—This house is situated on Nicholson street near Palace Green, and a portion was probably the house of William Levingston, who had his residence, theatre and bowling alley on this spot. Soon after the Revolution it became the residence of St. George Tucker, father-in-law of John Randolph, of Roanoke, and second professor of law at the college of William and Mary. It is now the property of his granddaughter, Mrs. Cynthia Beverley Tucker Coleman.

HENDERSON HOUSE.—Lots 170 and 171 at the northwest corner of Nicholson and England streets (now Colonial street), were deeded by the town trustees to Dr. Archibald Blair in 1716. They were owned by his son, Hon. John Blair, president of the Virginia council. About 1800 they were owned by Rev. James Henderson, assistant master of the grammar school in the college, who married his daughter. It is probable that this house was, therefore, the residence of Hon. John Blair (born 1687; died 1771.)

PEACHY HOUSE.—The lots at the northeast corner of Nicholson and England streets were owned, in 1800, by Thomas Griffin Peachy. They were probably the property, in 1781, of Mrs. Elizabeth (Bland) Beverley, widow of Colonel William Beverley, and came to Peachy by his marriage with their daughter, Elizabeth, widow of James Mills. If this be so, the letter of Colonel Tucker, who married Frances Bland (niece

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NOTED RESIDENCES.

1. Tucker House. 2. Paradise House. 3. Blair House (formerly Andrews).
4. Wythe House.

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of Mrs. Beverley), identifies the house as the headquarters in 1781, of General Rochambeau. Further honor was reserved to it in 1824, when Dr. T. G. Peachy, grandson of T. G. Peachy, first named, entertained General Lafayette on his visit to the United States in 1824. The house and lots are now the property of Edmund W. Warburton, mayor of Williamsburg.

GRIFFIN HOUSE.—On the same side of Nicholson street, behind the Paradise house, on Duke of Gloucester street, is the former residence of Judge Cyrus Griffin, member of the continental congress, and first judge of the district court of the United States for Virginia. His wife was Lady Christine Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Traquair. William Wirt, the celebrated attorney-general of the United States, lived here for a few months. It is now the residence of Mrs. Cynthia B. T. Coleman.

PARADISE HOUSE.—The lot on the north side of Duke of Gloucester street, numbered 44 in the plan of the city, was the property of John Paradise, who married Lucy Ludwell, youngest daughter of Colonel Philip Ludwell, of Greenspring. He was one of the literary club in London mentioned by Boswell in his *Life of Samuel Johnson.* In 1754 his father, Peter Paradise, was British consul at Thessalonica. He left two daughters—Portia, who died unmarried, and Lucy, who married Count Philip J. Barziza, of Venice, whose son of the same name settled in Williamsburg about 1806. This last had ten children, and the last was named *Decimus Ultimus Barziza.* One of the daughters was living a few years ago in Houston, Texas. Mrs. Paradise, after living abroad with her husband for many years, returned to Virginia in 1805, after his death. Among other household treasures, she brought over her dining-room table, around which the literary club had so often been entertained. This table, together with a handsome wardrobe and satin-wood bureau that belonged to Mrs. Paradise, is at present the property of Miss Mary J. Galt, of Williamsburg. The Paradise house is a fine specimen of brick building in the Flemish bond.

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TAZEWELL HALL.—This building stood at the south end of England street, and was the birthplace of Edmund Randolph, attorney-general and secretary of state of the United States. Part of the original structure is now an outhouse to the present handsome edifice occupying the same spot, built about 1840. About 1790 this lot became the property of Henry Tazewell, United States senator and father of Littleton Waller Tazewell.

BRIGHT HOUSE.—Lot 203, on the south side of Francis street, not far from the magazine, was the property in 1800 of Colonel Wilson Miles Cary. About 1837 John Tyler lived in a house situated there. The old James City court-house was an office to this house, and on the west side was another small house. It was afterwards the residence of Samuel F. Bright, and was burned in 1873.

CHISWELL HOUSE.—This interesting building, situated on the south side of Francis street, near the east end of the town, was probably erected about 1750. It was originally the property of Colonel John Chiswell, who married Elizabeth, daughter of William Randolph, of Turkey Island. Colonel Chiswell was the discoverer, in 1757, of the New River lead mines (now known as the Wythe Lead and Zinc Works), and Fort Chiswell, a few miles distant, was named for him. In 1766 he killed, in a quarrel, a Scotch gentleman by the name of Robert Routledge. The matter created a great sensation, and his prosecutor being chosen in the prevailing custom by lot, it fell to John Blair, Jr., an intimate friend, to conduct the case; but the suicide of the accused at his home in Williamsburg ended the proceedings. His house is now the property of Miss Virginia Wise, daughter of the late Dr. R. A. Wise, son of Governor Henry A. Wise.

GALT HOUSE.—This house, on the north side of Francis street, nearly opposite to the Chiswell house, is said to be one of the old houses of Middle Plantation. One of the traditions of the place is that the house of burgesses held a meeting there. In 1677, when Jamestown was built, the assembly met at the house of Otho Thorpe at Middle Plantation. Was this house Otho Thorpe's?

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PEYTON RANDOLPH HOUSE.—This quaint old house, situated on lot 255 on the south side of Francis street, in the eastern part of the town, was the residence of Peyton Randolph, first president of the continental congress, who died in 1775. Later it was occupied by Judge Hugh Nelson and his family, and in 1800, it was the property of Judge James Semple, while still later, it was the residence of Judge John B. Christian.

BASSETT HALL.—This handsome residence, adjoining Peyton Randolph's lot, was formerly the property of Burwell Bassett, nephew of Mrs. Washington. He was born March 18, 1764, at "Eltham," in New Kent County, and for many years was a member of congress, dying without issue in 1841. George Washington was a frequent visitor at this house. In the summer of 1804, Williamsburg was visited by Thomas Moore, the Irish poet, who was much impressed with the beautiful lawn at Bassett Hall, illuminated at eve by myriads of fire-flies. Having never seen these insects before, he was inspired to pen the following lines:

TO THE FIREFLY.

At morning when the earth and sky
  Are glowing with the light of spring,
We see thee not, thou humble fly!
  Nor think upon thy gleaming wing.

But when the skies have lost their hue,
  And sunny lights no longer play,
Oh, then we see and bless thee, too,
  For sparkling o'er the dreary way.

Then let me hope, when lost to me
  The lights that now my life illume,
Some milder joys may come, like thee,
  To cheer, if not to warm, the gloom!

In 1841 this place was the residence of John Tyler, at the time he became president of the United States by the death of President Harrison. He was officially notified of his succession by Fletcher Webster, son of Daniel Webster, secretary

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of state, who came as messenger to Williamsburg from the cabinet. The place is now the property of Mrs. Rebecca Minton Smith.

WALLER HOUSE.—This long, framed house on Francis street, in front of the Bassett house, was the residence of Judge Benjamin Waller, one of the Revolutionary patriots, who died May 18, 1786. It then passed to his son, Benjamin Carter Waller, and from him it went to his son, William Waller, whose son, William, married Elizabeth Tyler, daughter of President John Tyler. This building now belongs to the family of the late William H. E. Morecock, who, for many years, was clerk of James City County court.

MCCANDLISH HOUSE.—Across the street from Peyton Randolph's house, is a portion of the house of Colonel Robert McCandlish, a distinguished lawyer, who died about 1859.

GARRETT HOUSE.—This is a very beautiful house of the old regime, near the old capitol. It was probably originally erected by John Coke, who owned the lots here about 1775. It is at present the property of the Garrett family.

AUDREY'S HOUSE.—This is a small, typical house of the eighteenth century, on the east side of the Palace Green, made famous by Mary Johnston as the house of Audry, described in a novel of that name. On a window pane is scratched, "A. Boush, 1734"; on another, "S. B., 1796—O fatal day."

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XVII.

Capitol Landing or Queen Mary's Port.

Before the Revolution there was quite a village here. Henry Bocock and Matthew Moody had taverns of considerable pretensions. Across the creek was the fulling factory, and the field in which it stood is still known as the factory field. In 1716 Samuel Timson obtained authority from York County court to place the first bridge across the creek. In 1774 a stone bridge was built, and the laying of the foundation stone was an occasion of much ceremony in Williamsburg, as the *Virginia Gazette* shows:

Yesterday the Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of this city went in Procession, in the proper insignia of their order, to the Capitol Landing, and laid the foundation stone of the new Stone Bridge now building over Queen's creek, under which was a plate with the following inscription:

Rege Georgio Tertio,
Comiti Dunmore Praefecto,
Peyton Randolph Latomorum
Praeside Supremo,
Johanne Blair Praeside,
Anno Lucis
1774.

After the proper and usual Libation they repaired to the House of Mr. Matthew Moody junior (a Brother) and spent the Afternoon in Mirth and good Humour.

On this road was the gallows, on which criminals, condemned by the general court, consisting of the governor and his council, were hanged. On the east side, where the road enters the town was Waller's grove; a little further north, beyond the present railroad was the tan-yard, and adjoining northerly was the Mattey school-house.

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XVIII.

Vicinity of Williamsburg.

Rich Neck.—This place, which is situated on the road to Jamestown, about a mile from Williamsburg, was originally patented about 1634 by George Menifie, a member of the Virginia council. It passed to Richard Kempe, who was secretary of state, and died about 1649. It next became the residence of Thomas Ludwell, Esquire, secretary of state, and when he died, it went to his brother, Colonel Philip Ludwell, and continued in his family over a hundred years. Nothing of the old residence now remains except some tyles and a few old bricks. It is now the property of Mr. H. D. Cole, of Williamsburg.

Green Spring.—This place is situated on the road to Barret's ferry, about seven miles from Williamsburg. It was patented by Sir William Berkeley June 4, 1643, and comprised at first 984 acres, but it was subsequently increased to 1,090 acres. Berkeley built a brick house here, the walls of which still remain. It was two stories and a half high, and had six rooms in the main building, and there were two wings besides. His widow, Lady Frances Berkeley, married Colonel Philip Ludwell, who lived here in much state. About 1800 it was the property of Hon. William Lee, who represented the United States in Holland. During the Confederate war the brick house was fired by federal soldiers.

Powhatan.—This place is situated in James City County, near Powhatan Swamp, five miles from Williamsburg. It was the property, before the Revolution, of the Thorpes and Taliaferros. About 1800 it was the property of Hon. William Lee. During the war between the states, the old brick house was fired by some federal soldiers, but it was rebuilt on the same walls.

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JAMESTOWN ISLAND.—This place was the seat of the first permament English settlement in America, and is distant about seven miles from Williamsburg. It has been fully described by the author in a work entitled "The Cradle of the Republic."

JAMESTOWN ISLAND.

RIPON HALL.—This tract, distant about six miles from Williamsburg, on York River, was patented under the name of "Poplar Neck," and was owned about 1660 by Major Joseph Croshaw; and his son-in-law, Colonel John West, of West Point and Unity, his wife, sold it to Edmund Jenings, Esq., president of the Virginia council, who built a brick house there. And Jenings sold it to Robert (King) Carter, who devised it to his son, Colonel Landon Carter, of Sabine Hall, from whom it descended to his son, Robert Wormeley Carter, whose son, George Carter, sold it in 1799, to Littleton Waller Tazewell. The brick house, which has long since disappeared, stood near the present Biglow's.

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PORTO BELLO.—This place is situated on the north side of Queen's Creek, near its mouth, and is distant about six miles from Williamsburg. It was sold to Lord Dunmore by William Drummond and Rachel (Tyler) his wife, in 1773. The brick house in which his lordship rested is still standing.

RINGFIELD.—This is a plantation lying between the forks of King's and Felgate's Creeks. It was first patented by Robert Felgate, a prominent ship captain from London, who made his will in 1640, leaving his estate to his brother, William Felgate, a skinner, of London. At William Felgate's death, his widow, Mary, married, in 1660, Captain John Underhill, Jr., from the city of Worcester, England, who resided here till his death. From Underhill the property went to Joseph Ring, a prominent planter, who probably built the house still standing. About 1772 Ringfield was the property of Colonel Landon Carter, of "Sabine Hall." The house on the property is distinctly one of the seventeenth century.

KING'S CREEK PLANTATION.—In 1630 Captain John Utie patented this land, being one of the first to locate on York River. His son parted with his interest to Colonel William Tayloe, who gradually secured much of the neck. He married Elizabeth Kingsmill, and she married, secondly, Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, senior. During Bacon's rebellion the place was occupied by Major Thomas Whaley, with a band of rebels, and a bloody battle ensued, in which Farrell, the leader of the royalists, was killed. Here Sir William Berkeley, in 1677, first put foot to land after his banishment to the Eastern Shore by Nathaniel Bacon, Jr. At Colonel Bacon's death in 1694, the property passed to Lewis Burwell, who married his niece, Abigail Smith. About 1740, the whole tract between James River and York River was owned by the Burwells, from King's Creek to Queen's Creek on the York, and from Skiff's Creek to Archer's Hope Creek on the James. James Burwell (son of Lewis) lived at King's Creek, on York River; Lewis Burwell, another son, lived at Kingsmill, on James River; and Nathaniel Burwell, another still, owned Martin's Hundred,

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which he obtained through his marriage with Elizabeth Carter, daughter of Robert (King) Carter. There is a stone on the side of the road going down to King's Creek neck, which marks the corner of the lands of all three, having engraved upon its sides their initials, J. B., L. B., N. B.

BELLFIELD.—The same year King's Creek was settled, Captain John West, brother of Lord Delaware, planted himself at the east side of Felgate's Creek, which has a common mouth with King's Creek. Here his son, John West, the founder of West Point up York River, was born in 1633, the first child born on York River. In 1650, West sold the property to Edward Digges, Esq., son of Sir Dudley Digges, master of the Rolls to King Charles II., who raised silkworms and died there. The place continued in the Digges family for over one hundred years, and during that time it was noted for its peculiar brand of tobacco, called the "E Dees." About 1795 it was sold by William Digges, of Newport News, to William Waller, and finally came to Colonel Robert McCandlish. It is still owned by the McCandlish family.

INDIAN FIELDS.—Further down the York River is "Indian Fields," where the Chiskiack Indians once had their town.

YORKTOWN.—The land here was first patented by Captain Nicholas Martian, a French walloon, who came to Virginia in 1621. His daughter, Elizabeth, married Colonel George Reade, secretary of state, in 1641. In 1691, his son, Benjamin Reade, sold fifty acres for a town, and in 1698 the county seat of York County was moved there from the Half-way house, between Williamsburg and Yorktown, but a busy mart grew up, and in the year 1749 the trade amounted to £32,000 sterling. During the Revolution it was occupied by the British army under Cornwallis, who was forced to surrender October 19, 1781, to the combined armies of France and the United States. It has never recovered from the injuries inflicted by the American army at that time. Its trade, however, was entirely out of proportion to its population, which never exceeded 1,000. Its population

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at present is about two hundred. The chief things of interest in Yorktown are the custom house, Cornwallis' cave, the Nelson house, the old church, the monument, and the revolutionary and confederate fortifications. On the hill, at the eastern point of Yorktown creek, stood, about fifty years ago, a picturesque windmill erected in the year 1717, by William Buckner. There was an old well on the shore in 1691, where the ships got their water.

TEMPLE FARM.—About three miles down York River from Yorktown, is Temple Farm, where the articles of surrender were signed by Lord Cornwallis. It was patented by Sir John Harvey about 1631, and a village grew up called "York." The church of York parish was there, until the removal, in 1698, of the county seat to Yorktown from the Half-way house on the road to Williamsburg. Brick foundations, sometimes mistaken for the ruins of a "temple," are all that remains of the early church, but in a deed in the court house, the field in which they lie is called the "church field." Here, in 1649, resided Colonel George Ludlow, one of the council, and across Wormeley's creek was Colonel Ralph Wormeley's residence. Major Henry Norwood, Sir Thomas Lunsford, Major Manwaring Hammond and other cavaliers were entertained by Colonels Ludlow and Wormeley after their voyage from England on the beheading of Charles I. From the Ludlows, Temple farm went to Major Lawrence Smith, in whose family it continued until about the Revolution, when it was occupied by Mrs. Anne Moore, the widow of Daniel Moore. Spotswood never lived there, as is sometimes said.

CARTER'S GROVE.—This plantation is situated on James River, in Martin's Hundred, which was settled in 1618, and is distant about six miles from Williamsburg. It is a noble example of the Virginia country gentleman's home of the eighteenth century, and was adorned with terraces and gardens. The house, which is very large, is built in the Flemish bond, and has two detached wings. Robert Carter's daughter, Elizabeth, married Nathaniel Burwell, of Fairfield, in Gloucester

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County, eldest son of Major Lewis Burwell. Their son, Carter Burwell, made it his regular residence, and at the close of the century, it was owned by his son, Nathaniel Burwell, who removed to Clarke County, when "Carter's Grove" passed out of the Burwell family. It was for a long time the hospitable residence of Dr. E. G. Booth.

KINGSMILL.—This plantation is on James River, distant about four miles from Williamsburg, and originally consisted of 850 acres, patented by Richard Kingsmill, an early settler. His daughter, Elizabeth, married Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, who left all his property to his niece, Abigail Smith, who married Major Lewis Burwell, of King's Creek. Lewis Burwell, Major Burwell's son by his second wife, Martha Lear, received this property from his father, and built upon it a large brick mansion house with gardens and other considerable improvements. It was standing about 1800, and is described in the *Virginia Gazette* as two stories high, four rooms to a floor, with two wings or offices. The ground in front was terraced to the river, and there were on the place a brick brew house, stables, barns and coach house. There was a wharf here, where, for many years, the steamer received passengers from Williamsburg. Nearly all the old structures are gone, but the plantation is still ranked among the best on James River.

LITTLETOWN.—This plantation adjoins *Kingsmill,* easterly. In 1633 it was the residence of George Menifie. In 1752 it was the residence of Colonel Thomas Bray.

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THE OLD WINDMILL AT YORKTOWN, STANDING ABOUT 1850.

SEAL OF YORKTOWN.

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XIX.

Anecdotes.

After the death of John Camm, in 1779, Rev. Mr. Samuel Sheild succeeded him as minister of Yorkhampton Church. His sermons differed from those of most of the Episcopal preachers of his day, being rather of the Methodist order. It is said a lady of Williamsburg, one of the old school, at a time when stiff brocades were the church dress of those who could afford it, would come home after some of Mr. Sheild's animated discussions, and call upon her maid to take off her clothes, for she had heard so much of hell, damnation and death that it would take her all the evening to get cool.

When young Count Barziza, of Venice, came to Williamsburg about 1806, accustomed to the marble palaces of his native city, he was much surprised at the fashionable looking young ladies that came out of the homely houses of Williamsburg; he exclaimed: "What lovely houris to come out of such wretched hovels!"

Among the ladies of Williamsburg about 1845 was Miss Matilda Southall, noted for her wit and sprightliness. On one occasion in winter, when the distinguished president of the college, Thomas R. Dew, slipped on the sidewalk as he came to the college, Miss Matilda, who was behind him, remarked that "it was the largest dew-drop she ever saw."

During the late war (1861-1865) two of the ladies of the town were reported by some negroes as secretly haboring President Davis and General Lee. The federal provost marshall summoned them to his office, and there was a hearty laugh when the two "rebels" turned out to be two favorite roosters bearing those noted names.

Rev. Scervant Jones, minister of the Baptist congregation which met in the powder magazine, was a singular mixture of piety, simplicity, humor and business shrewdness. Many anecdotes are related of him, and the following are worth re-

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peating: The Methodists, being a new congregation, had no regular church of their own, and had rented a building on Francis street. The following Sunday they engaged in service, and their songs and shouts were borne on the air to the powder magazine, where Mr. Jones was haranguing his own congregation of Baptists. He abruptly excused himself in the midst of his sermon and went outside of the magazine. After a few minutes he returned and remarked: "I thought I heard some dogs howling, but found it was only our Methodist brethren rejoicing."

He travelled about a good deal, and came to the house of a Mr. Howle in New Kent County, just after the family had concluded dinner. The remains of the feast were rather scanty, and Mr. Jones said the following grace:

> **Good Lord of love, look from above,**
> **And bless the 'owl which ate this fowl**
> **And left the bones for Scervant Jones.**

He married twice—first, Anne Timson Buckner; and, second, a Mrs. Pollard. The latter was reported to have considerable property, and Mr. Jones, before his marriage with her, adopted a novel way to ascertain its true extent. Staying over one night, Mr. Jones was asked to officiate in the morning at the family prayers, to which he readily consented, but remarked that it was the custom on his own plantation to have all the members of his family present, black and white. Mrs. Pollard took the hint and sent out for all her slaves, and they came dropping in, one by one. "Are they all here, ma'am?" said Mr. Jones. "No," said Mrs. Pollard, "there are some more to come." Mr. Jones asked the question several times more, and finally Mrs. Pollard said: "they are all here, Mr. Jones." "Then," said the parson, who had been busily counting the while, "let us engage in prayer."

His marriage to Mrs. Pollard was not unhappy, but, if his tombstone is to be believed, his deeper affections turned to the wife of his earlier choice:

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Time was when his cheek with life's crimson was flushed,
When cheerful his voice was, health sat on his brow—
That cheek is now palsied, that voice is now hushed:
He sleeps with the dust of his *first partner* now.

It is said that the slab which marks her grave was brought to Williamsburg on the top of the coach in which he and his second wife sat, as they returned from their wedding. Mrs. Pollard probably read the following verses:

If woman ever yet did well
If woman ever did excell
If woman husband ere adored
If woman ever loved the Lord
If ever Faith and Hope and Love
In human flesh did live and move
If all the graces e'er did meet
In her, in her, they were complete

My Ann, my all, my Angel wife
My dearest one, my love, my life
I cannot sigh or say farewell
But where thou dwellest I will dwell.

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APPENDIX.

CHART OF WILLIAMSBURG (see frontispiece).—This chart cannot be older than 1783, for the Tucker lots, in 1783, were the property of John Tazewell.

CHAPTER I. (See page 10).—Pott's plantation (1,200 acres patented June 6, 1632), was called "Harop," and appears to have been south of Popley's grant and on Archer's Hope creek. After his death the land went to his brother, Francis Pott, who sold it to William Davis. Davis patented the land in 1643, but, dying without heirs, it was patented by John Bromfield in 1656. It adjoined Tuttey's neck on the south, which was separated from Kingsmill by a branch of Archer's Hope creek. In 1666 Harop was owned by Humphrey Higginson, Esq., who on his death in that year gave the land to his brother, Captain Christopher Higginson. In 1710 Major Lewis Burwell devised Harop to his son Lewis. Dr. Pott came evidently of the Harop branch of the Pott family in England, and was probably son of Henry Pott of Harop in Cheshire, and his cousin, Grace Pott, wife of said Henry. See "Several Early Physicians" in *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, XIV., 97.

CHAPTER III.—*College of William and Mary.* The *system* of *instruction* in vogue at William and Mary, previous to the Revolution, was like that pursued in England. First, the boy entered the grammar school, where he remained about five years studying Latin and Greek. At fifteen years of age he was examined, and on passing satisfactorily was admitted to the philosophy school, in which there were two professors, one who taught "rhetoric, logic and ethics," and another who taught "physicks, metaphysics and mathematics." He was now called "student," and assumed the cap and gown. After two years he became an A. B., and after four years an A. M. But the destruction of records prevents any accurate list of such graduates at William and Mary. On attaining his degree of A. B. he was passed (if intending for the ministry) to the divinity school, which had also two professors—one who taught the Hebrew tongue and expounded the Old and New Testaments, and another who taught "the commonplaces of divinity and the controversies with heretics." If he proposed to be a lawyer, he went to one of the law schools in England, or studied in a lawyer's office in

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Virginia. The doctors studied in Europe. The catalogues of the northern colleges show that hardly any of the Virginia youth studied in the North previous to the Revolution. (See *William and Mary Quarterly.*)

The first departure from the Oxford curriculum at William and Mary was made by Dr. William Small, who was professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics from October 18, 1758, to September 25, 1764.* He introduced the lecture system at the college. The next departure was taken by the Board of Visitors in 1770. There was much demand for surveyors to lay out lands, and this body, consisting of native Virginians, passed a decree, despite the protest of the Oxford and Cambridge professors in the faculty, to admit, without the usual previous training in the classics, any one who had acquired "a competent knowledge of common or vulgar arithmetic" to the mathematical school. Nine years later (in 1779), when the Revolution had driven to England the foreign element in the faculty, the whole course was reorganized by Governor Jefferson, then a member of the Governing Board. The grammar and divinity schools were abolished, and in their place were established schools of modern languages, of anatomy and medicine, and of law and police. Planting itself squarely on the platform of free thought, William and Mary became the first institution in America to announce the Lecture, Elective and Honor systems now almost universally accepted; the first to establish a school of law for the training of young men for the bar; the first to have a school of modern languages; and the first, by uniting the faculties of law, medicine and the arts and sciences in one institution, to attain the character of a university—a name formally assumed for the college in the caption to the faculty records June 5, 1781. In view of the tendency in colleges at the present time to drop the classics from the requirements for A. B., it may be observed that Mr. Jefferson abolished Latin and Greek from the college at the time of the organization of the college in 1779. The study was restored, however, in 1792.

The numbers at William and Mary were never large, but, as they consisted of the young men from influential families, the alumni of the institution exerted prevailing influence upon affairs in Virginia from 1694 to 1861. (See "The Making of the Union," 1899, a pamphlet by the author.) In 1702 there were 29 grammar scholars; in 1736, 60 students and scholars; in 1754 about 115 students, scholars and Indian boys, and in 1770 about 120.

The following is a statement of the students at the college from 1786 to 1907. Only the figures opposite to the years marked with an asterisk (*) includes the boys at the grammar school. That school was discontinued at the reorganization in 1888:

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*In the text the date of Dr. Small's departure for England is given as 1762 which is an error.

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Number of Students at William and Mary College.

YEAR.	No.	YEAR.	No.	YEAR.	No.
1786*	30	1827	54	1868*	No record
1787	34	1828	65	1869*	65
1788	9	1829	64	1870*	74
1789	8	1830	57	1871*	76
1790	16	1831	53	1772*	66
1791	22	1832	23	1873*	51
1792	8	1833	19	1874*	73
1793	42	1834	48	1875*	86
1794	23	1835	66	1876*	38
1795	19	1836	114	1877*	35
1796	32	1837	111	1878*	34
1797	25	1838	132	1879*	30
1798	35	1839	140	1880	27
1799	43	1840	110	1881	Intermission
1800	44	1841	97	1882	Intermission
1801	71	1842	80	1883	Intermission
1802	59	1843	86	1884	Intermission
1803	56	1844	69	1885	Intermission
1804	65	1845	68	1886	Intermission
1805	49	1846	58	1887	Intermission
1806	45	1847	53	1888	102
1807	62	1848	Intermission	1889	187
1808	63	1849	21	1890	182
1809	57	1850	35	1891	174
1810	66	1851	56	1892	204
1811	44	1852	80	1893	169
1812	32	1853	82	1894	160
1813	19	1854	82	1895	183
1814	21	1855	66	1896	151
1815	75	1856	58	1897	158
1816	95	1857	58	1898	194
1817	92	1858	47	1899	164
1818	50	1859	60	1900	157
1819	49	1860	63	1901	154
1820	44	1861	Intermission	1902	165
1821	61	1862	Intermission	1903	155
1822	47	1863	Intermission	1904	195
1823	33	1864	Intermission	1905	244
1824	No record	1865*	65	1906	231
1825	14	1866*	42		
1826	No record	1867*	53		

Burgesses.—The right of the college under its charter to send representatives to the assembly was taken away by the constitution of 1776. The following gentlemen represented the college at different times: John Custis in 1720; Thomas Jones, 1720-1722; Sir John Randolph, knight speaker, 1736; Edward Barradall, attorney-general, 1738-1742; Beverley Randolph, 1744-1749; Peyton Randolph, attorney-general, 1752-1757; George Wythe, 1759-1760; Mann Page, 1761-1765; John Blair, 1765-1768; John Blair, Jr., 1769-1770; John Page, 1771-1773;

*The years given are those in which the sessions began.

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John Randolph, attorney-general, 1774-1775; John Blair, Jr., in convention of May, 1776.

Scholarships.—The scholarships established in the college before the Revolution were: The ten public scholarships arising from the act of the assembly of 1718 (see page 130) and the act of 1745 imposing duties upon liquors; and the seven private scholarships; *Hill's*, founded by Colonel Edward Hill's will, in 1720, amounting to £150, which was increased by Robert Carter (1727) to £200. (It was intended to be invested in books, but this, it appears, was not done); *Bray's* scholarship (1716), founded by Mrs. Sarah Bray, widow of Captain Thomas Bray, of New Kent, £200; *Harrison's* scholarship, founded by Mrs. Elizabeth Harrison, of Surry, £200; the *Blair* scholarships, founded by Dr. James Blair in 1743, £500; and the *Lightfoot* scholarships, founded in 1748 by Philip Lightfoot, Esq., of Sandy Point, £500. By the Revolution these funds were lost, and the scholarships were discontinued.

The Public Lands about Williamsburg, donated in 1784 by the General Assembly (comprising the Palace lands, Vineyard land, and the Main farm, and some lots in Williamsburg, realized when sold $18,048.25 (Judge James Semple's report to the faculty in 1824).

The list of the *chancellors* of the college, as far as known, were as follows: Henry Compton, bishop of London; Thomas Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury; William Wake, archbishop of Canterbury; Edmund Gibson, bishop of London; Thomas Sherlock, bishop of London; Thomas Hayter, archbishop of Canterbury; Charles Wyndham, earl of Egremont; Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwick; General George Washington, president of the United States; John Tyler, LL. D., president of the United States; Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL. D., president of the Virginia Historical Society.

The *Statutes* of the college.—Editions of the statutes were published in 1736 (Library of Congress), 1744, 1758 (Lenox Library), 1792 (Virginia State Library), 1817, 1827 (William and Mary College Library).

The *General Catalogue* (see page 189) passed through four editions—1855, 1859, 1870, 1874. (Copies in William and Mary College Library of each.)

On page 196, the year of Mr. Hugh Jones' admission as professor of natural philosophy and mathematics, should be given as 1717. (See Spotswood's Letters II., 253.)

Surveyor-General.—Among the grants of the charter was the office of surveyor-general. Before the transfer, in 1729, the office was exercised through a deputy—Miles Cary, from 1693 to 1708, William Buckner from 1708 to 1716, and Peter Beverley from 1716 to 1729. After that time the office was administered by the faculty, till about the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the Legislature abolished the power.

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CHAPTER XVI.—*Noted Residences.*—To the list given in the text may be added the following: (1) *The Vest House,* on Duke of Gloucester street, near the old capitol, numbered 26 and 27 on the chart of the city, was the headquarters of George B. McClellan, when the Federal army, in 1862, occupied the city. It obtains its name from its late proprietor—Mr. W. W. Vest. (2) *The Coke House,* on Francis street, is a square red brick house, which not long before the late war was the property of John Coke, Esq., father of Hon. Richard Coke, senator from Texas. About 1806 it was the residence of Judge Samuel Tyler, chancellor of the district. (3) *Holt House* (Northington). There is a fine old house standing on Scotland street, which is said to have been built by William Holt, mayor of Williamsburg. Lots 212, 213, 214, 217, constituting the square in which the house stands, were sold to William Holt, in 1781, by Dr. James Carter, of Williamsburg, and Hester, his wife. The latter obtained them by deed from Robert Anderson and Ann, his wife, in 1769. And Ann Anderson obtained them by the will of Dr. John Anderson, who got them from the trustees of the town. They adjoined northerly 180 acres purchased by Dr. Anderson, in 1752, from Mr. Henry Tyler, who lived on the tract, "being a part of 254 acres granted to Mr. Henry Tyler, grandfather of the said Henry, by patent bearing date the 7th of January, 1652, and from the said Henry, the grandfather the same descended to his son Henry Tyler, who devised the same by his last will to the said Henry Tyler, party to these presents." Indeed, these lots, like the palace grounds, were doubtless part of Henry Tyler's original grant. (4) *Morecock House.* This handsome colonial residence on Duke of Gloucester street, occupying lots 21 and 22, was the property of William Rowsay. It was the residence for thirty years of William H. E. Morecock, clerk of the court for the county of James City and city of Williamsburg. (5) *Cary House.* This house was the residence of Colonel Wilson Miles Cary, a member of the Virginia convention of 1776. His sister, Mary Cary, is reported to have been a sweetheart of Washington, and she married Edward Ambler, of Jamestown. Another sister, Elizabeth, married Bryan, Lord Fairfax.

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INDEX.

Academia Virginensis et Oxoniensis, 112.
Accomac, 7, 224.
Adams, 38, 71, 237.
Affleck, 32, 33.
Albemarle County, 56, 172.
Allen, 24.
Ambler, 108, *Appendix.*
American Episcopacy, 54, 160.
Amson, *Appendix.*
Anderson, 74, 104, *Appendix.*
Andrews, 61, 86, 168, 170, 172, 178, 244, 248 251.
Andros, 98, 123 124 125, 133.
Anecdotes, 37, 52, 120, 127, 156, 166, 264, 265.
Anne, Queen, 20, 21, 125, 128, 129, 222.
Annapolis, 21, 22, 28, 30.
Apollo, The, 48, 60, 234, 235; *Picture of*, 235,
Archer, 180.
Archer's Hope Creek, 10, 12, 13, 20, 30, 55, 57, 93, 259, *Appendix.*
Archer's Hope Swamp, 123.
Armistead, 21, 232.
Arnold, 81, 82.
Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, 212, 223, 238.
Athawes, 56.
Audrey's House, 255.
Augusta County, 166.
Aylett, 94.

Bacon, 14, 18, 49, 114, 156, 218, 259, 262.
Bacon's Rebellion, 13, 18, 218.
Baldwin, 61.
Ballard, 21, 122, 123.
Bancroft, 40.
Baptista, 14.
Barbour, 180.
Barclay, 232.
Barradall, 30, 108, *Appendix.*
Barraud, 244.
Barré, 42.
Barret, 41, 142.
Barry, William Taylor, 88, 180, *portrait* of, 171.
Barziza, 231, 252.
Bassett, 81, 88, 231, 254.
Bassett Hall, 88, 254, *picture* of, 249.
Beaufort, Duke of, 54.
Beckley, 202, 245.
Bellfield, 260.
Bellini, Charles, 86, 170, 172, 178.
Beltzhoover, 193.
Berkeley, 14, 16, 18, 44, 45, 94, 107, 112, 125, 224, 245, 257, 259; *portrait* 15.
Bermuda, 32, 55, 58.
Bernard, 44.
Berry, 16.
Besouth, 94, 98.
Beverley, 85, 127, 128, 200, 205, 250, 252.
Biglow's, 258.
Bird, 193.
Blackamore, 25, 129, 130, 214.
Black Beard, 25, 221; *portrait*, 27.
Blackstone, 172.
Blackwater River, 118, 130.
Blackwell, 178.
Bladensburg, 61.
Blair, 21, 24, 26, 30, 33, 36, 41, 43, 44, 53, 54, 57, 86, 87, 99, 100, 103, 108, 114, 116, 118, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 156, 160, 198, 209, 226, 228, 232, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250, 251, 253, 256, *Appendix;* John *Autograph*, 35; Dr. James, *Portrait*, 115, *Autograph*, 31; Mrs. James Blair, *portrait*, 139; John Blair, Jr., *portrait*, 177.
Blair House, 248, 251; *picture* of, 251.

Digitized by Google

Bland, 20, 24, 40, 54, 72, 97, 98, 202, 250.
Blenheim, 22, 125.
Bocock, 256.
Bonell, 49.
Bonnyman, 94.
Booth, 262.
Boston, 44, 46, 59, 61, 64, 66, 71, 88, 234.
Boston Port Bill, 59, 60.
Boswell, 252.
Botetourt, 20, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 55, 56, 158, 162, 166, 198, 200, 202, 216, 217, 234, 245; *portrait*, 51; Botetourt's coffin plate, 200; medals, 161, 162, 166, 200; *picture* of, 161; Statue, 52, 198.
Boundary Stone, 121, 123, 198.
Bowles, 28.
Boyle, 119, 132, 137, 140, 174, 198; *portrait*, 117.
Bracken, John, 108, 164, 168, 178, 182, 244; *Autograph of*, 183.
Braddock, 34.
Brafferton Building, 30, 90, 119, 129, 132, 137, 138, 140, 156, 158, 174, 192, 198, 200; *picture*, 113.
Braxton, 67, 72.
Bray, 13, 14 19, 26, 94, 98, 108, 262; *Appendix; tombstone*, 109.
Brick bonds, 102, 123, 132.
Bridges, 198.
Bright House, 223, 239, 253.
British troops, 81-84.
Broadrib, 127.
Brooke, 13.
Brown, 24, 184, 186.
Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, 200.
Brunswick County, 130, 150.
Bruton parish and church, 18, 22, 28, 30, 32, 44, 86, 90, 93-109, 143, 158, 164, 218; *View of Church*, 95; *Petition of Vestry*, 97; *Service*, 101; *View of Bell*, 105; *View of Churchyard*, 109.
Bryan, 102.
Buchanan, 134.
Buckner, 261, 265.
Buckroe, 49.
Burch, 109.
Burk, *History of Virginia*, 178.
Burke, Edmund, 42, 59.
Burke, General Armory, 120.
Burgesses of the College, 116; *Appendix*.
Burgoyn, General, 81.
Burlington, Earl of, 119, 140.
Burnaby, 37, 150.
Burnet, 116, 119.
Burnt Ordinary, 90.
Burwell, 12, 21, 32, 65, 100, 102. 127, 128, 242, 244, 259, 261, 262, *Appendix*.
Burwell's Ferry, 65, 82, 222.
Bryan, 102.
Byrd, 66, 122, 132, 198; William, *portrait*, 29.

Cabell, William, 72; Joseph C., 180; *portrait*, 171; William H., *Portrait of*, 177.
Camm, 54, 108, 144, 146, 147, 151, 154, 156, 158, 160, 161, 162, 164, 166, 244, 264; *Autograph of* John Camm, 161.
Campbell, 126, 178.
Capitol, The, 21, 32, 33, 37, 76, 84, 86, 103, 143, 172, 205-213; *Picture of*, 207; *View of Site*, 211.
Cape Company, 33, 50.
Capitol Landing (see Queen Mary's Port).
Carr, 153, 202, 212.
Carrington, 72.
Carter, 21, 28, 128, 163, 240, 242, 244, 258, *Appendix;* Robert, *portrait*, 29; Landon, *portrait of*, 163.
Carter's Grove, 261.
Carthagena, 22, 28, 30, 32, 142.
Cary, 74, 122, 138, 163, 206, 213, 216, 253, *Appendix;* Archibald, *portrait of*, 163.
Cary House, *Appendix*.
Catesby, 25.
Catharine Memorial Society, 106.
Cavallo, 166.
Chamberlayne, 36.
Chancellors of the College, 119, 179, *Appendix*.
Charles I., 261.
Charles II., 13, 16.
Charles City County, 67, 72, 74, 111, 130, 133.
Charleston, 59, 81.
Charter of the College 119.
Chastellux, 85.
Chatham, Earl of, 59.
Chelsea Hospital, 133.
Chesapeake Bay, 7, 8, 10, 80, 83.
Chesley, 94.

Digitized by Google

Chester, 61.
Chickahominy River, 82, 88.
Chickahominy Swamp, 14.
Chiskiack, 7, 8, 10.
Chiswell, 232.
Chiswell House, 253.
Christian, 254.
Church Review, 94.
Church Services, 107, 108.
City Point, 111.
Claiborne, 7, 8, 11, 93, 96.
Clark, 81, 111, 121, 221.
Clarke, 12.
Clarkson, 237.
Clayton, 24, 26, 30, 57, 61.
Clerke (See Clarke).
Clergy, Conventions of, 114, 144, 147, 160.
Clinton, Sir Henry, 83.
Coalter, 174.
Coat of Arms, 120.
Cobbs, 93, 94, 97, 98.
Cocke, 24, 25, 26, 57, 62, 82, 99, 108, 137, 142, 240.
Coke, 57, 255, *Appendix.*
Coke House, *Appendix.*
Cole, 122, 143, 257.
Coleman, 226, 250, 252.
College Creek, 20.
College Officers, 160.
College Village, 86-93.
College of William and Mary (see William and Mary College).
Collins, 65.
Colonial Williamsburg, 19-38.
Comedians, 227, 229, 230, 231.
Committee of Correspondence, 56.
Committee of Safety, 72.
Compton, 116, 119, 122.
Congress, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 74, 193.
Conway, 42.
Copland, 110, 111.
Contesse, 24.
Corbin, 24, 66, 67.
Cornwallis, 81, 82, 83, 84, 91, 92, 103, 168, 217, 250, 260, 261.
Cornwallis's Cave, 261.
County Committees, 62.
County and City Court House, 86, 240, 241; *Picture of*, 241.
County Surveyor's Bond, photograph, 155.
Courses of Instruction, 114, 134-138, 153, 170-178, 200, 204, *Appendix.*
Covent Garden, 229.
Cradle of Revolution, 38-86.
"Cradle of the Republic," 258.
Craig, 57, 66.
Crittenden, John J., 180; *Portrait of*, 171.
Croghan, George, *portrait of*, 187.
Croshaw, 93, 258.
Crump, William W., *portrait*, 201.
Cumberland, Duke of, 45.
Cumberland County, 77, 136.
Cumming, 32.
Curtis, 193.
Custis, 18, 26, 96, 99, 248, *Appendix.*

Dale, 7.
Dalton, 36.
Dandridge, 248.
Dartmouth, Lord, 68, 70.
Davenport, 160.
Davies, 118, 143, 230.
Davis, 237, 264, *Appendix.*
Dawson, 28, 33, 41, 43, 87, 100, 108, 136, 131, 138, 140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 150, 151, 153; *Autograph of* William, 87; *Autograph of* Thomas, 152.
Declaration of Independence, 77, 78.
Deane, 86, 245.
Degrees, 136.
De Grasse, Count, 83.
Delawafer, 118.
Delaware, 48, 78, 93.
Denbigh, 7.
Denison, 108.
Dew, Thomas R., 183, 186, 188, 264; *Autograph*, 183; *Portrait*, 191.
Dick, 231.
Dickson, 70.
Digges, 72, 242, 244, 260.
Dinwiddie, 32, 33, 34, 143, 144, 146, 216, 228, 234, 250; Robert, *portrait*, 35.
Divinity School at the College, 114, 118, 137, 156, 158, 170.
Dixon, 43, 64, 81, 158, 166, 232, 236, 237, 244.
Dods, 104.
Doncastle's Ordinary, 67.
Dowdeswell, 59.
Doyley, 108.
Downes, 110.
Drummond, 14.
Drysdale, 26, 133.

Digitized by Google

Duke of Gloucester Street, 13, 20, 21, 28, 102, 103, 128, 205, 236, 240, 252; View, 39.
Dunmore, 55, 59, 60, 62, 64-72, 76, 78, 162, 164, 216, 217, 220, 222, 234, 256, 259; *Portrait*, 69.
Dunmore's Wine Cellar, 220.

Easter, 96.
East India Company, 59, 60, 110.
East India School, 111.
Eaton's Free School, 112.
Eburne, 108.
Edward VII., 108.
Effingham, Lord, 44, 116.
Elizabeth City, 11, 49, 72, 74, 112.
Elliott, 22.
Elsing Green, 67.
Eltham, 81, 254.
Elective System, 160, 175.
Emmerson, 158.
Empie, Adam, 108, 183, 184; *Autograph*, 183; *Portrait of*, 185.
Eppes, 175.
Esclave, 49, 50.
Everard, 57, 62, 102, 242.
Evelyn, 10.
Ewell, Benjamin S., 91, 129, 183, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 198; *Autograph*, 183; *Portrait*, 191.

Factories, 56.
Faculty Book, pages from 41, 43, 87, 131, 151, 152.
Fairfax, 33, 143, *Appendix*.
Fairfax County, 72, 143.
Farnifold, 122.
Fauquier, 36, 38, 42, 44, 50, 108, 146, 147, 150, 216, 217, 242; Francis, *Autograph*, 35.
Federal Soldiers, oath required by, 89; College burned by, 91, 190.
Felgate, 259, 260.
Fenn, 13, 93.
Finances of the College, 156, 174, 182, 192, 194, 204.
Fincastle, Lord, 59.
Finnie, 228, 229, 232.
Fire Engines, 58.
Fitzhugh, 168.
Fleming, 153.
Flournoy, 24.
Foliott, 93.
Fontaine, 41, 43, 130, 131, 137.
Forbes, 36.
Ford, 43, 142.
Forts: Chiswell 253, Christanna 130, 198, Duquesne, 34, 35, Magruder 50, 85, 218, 240.
Forth, 218.
Foster, 244.
Fouace, 122, 123, 134.
Fowey, The, 65, 67, 68, 71.
Fox, 136, 138, 142.
Foy, 61, 71.
Francis, 20.
Franklin, 34, 61, 236; *Diploma*, 151.
Fraser, George, 155.
Fredericksburg, 65, 66.
French and Indian War, 34, 36, 38.
Fry, 41, 131, 134, 138, 142.

Gage, 71.
Gallows Road, 25.
Galt, 57, 62, 66, 86, 104, 244, 252, 253.
Galt House, 253.
Gaming, 42.
Gardiner, 96.
Garland, The, 98.
Garrett, 160, 193, 250.
Garrett House, 256.
Garrison, 188.
Gatewood, 189.
Geddy, 57.
George I., 214, 216.
George III., 42, 46, 70, 108.
Gibson, 140.
Giles, 130.
Gilmer, 103, 226, 232.
Girardin, 178.
Gloucester County, 12, 61, 72, 114, 154, 166, 198, 246, 261.
Gloucester Town, 141.
Gooch, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 107, 133, 142, 208, 209, 216, 234.
Goochland County, 232.
Goodall, 67.
Goodwin, 106, 108, 109.
Gookin, 111.
Goosley, 74.
Governor's Offices, 216; *View of*, 215.
Governor's House (see Palace).
Graeme, 41, 142, 143
Graffenreidt, 24, 225, 241.
Graham, 43, 143, 144, 146, 150, 153, 154, 157; Richard, *Autograph of*, 157.
Grammar School, 114, 118, 123, 124, 128, 129, 130, 133, 134, 136,

Digitized by Google

Grammar School—
142, 143, 150, 158, 160, 170, 178, 182.
Graves, 96, 102.
Gray, 122.
Great Bridge, 72.
Greene, General, 85.
Greenspring, 14, 18, 83, 125, 252, 257.
Greenhow, 244.
Grenville, 42.
Griffin, 108, 130, 244, 252.
Griffin House, 252.
Grigsby, Hugh Blair, 192; *Portrait of*, 179.
Grymes, 216.
Gwatkin, 53, 54, 76, 158, 160, 162, 164; *Receipt*, 53.
Gwynn's Island, 72.

Hadley, 123.
Half-Way House, 260, 261.
Hall, 193.
Hallam, 57, 229, 230, 231.
Hamilton, 81, 221.
Hamlin, 12.
Hammond, 261.
Hampton, 32, 72, 98, 146, 213.
Hampton Roads, 45.
Hampton River, 45.
Hancock, 71.
Hand, General, 83.
Hanover County, 38, 62, 67, 154.
Hansford, 156, 158.
Hardy, 245.
Hare, 182.
Harop Parish, 93, 94, 96.
Harop, *Appendix*.
Harrison, 21, 24, 77, 85, 90, 122, 128, 139, 142, 198, 254, *Appendix*.
Hartwell, 122.
Harvard College, 112, 119, 166.
Harvey, 8, 10, 261.
Harwood, 74.
Hay, 57, 232, 234, 240.
Hayward, 52, 198.
Heath, 166.
Henderson, 244, 250.
Henderson House, 250.
Hening, 205.
Henley, 12, 54, 58, 76, 158, 160-162, 164; Samuel, *Autograph of*, 161
Henrico College, 110, 111, 114.
Henrico County, 110, 11, 114.
Henry, Patrick, 36, 38, 40, 56, 59, 60, 62, 64, 67, 74, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 154, 212; *Portrait*, 79.
Hesse, 21.
Hewitt, 54.
Higginson, 11, 12, 13, *Appendix*.
Hill, 130, *Appendix*.
Hillsborough, Earl of, 48.
Hinson, John, 118.
History at William and Mary, 178, 182, 186.
Hoar, 193.
Hobday, 61, gold medal presented to, 63.
Hodges, 108, 123.
Hoffman, 89.
Holloway, 24, 26, 28, 99, 100.
Holt House, *Appendix*.
Honor System, 176, *Appendix*.
Hopkins, 24, 28, 188.
Hornsby, 55, 244.
Horrocks, 54, 108, 154, 158, 160, 161, 162; James, *Autograph of*, 161.
Horses, 26, 58.
Horse Path, 13, 20.
Horton, 127.
Hospital for Insane, 50, 242-245; *Picture of*, 243.
Houses, 24, 37, 58, 88, 92.
Houston, 252.
Howard, Lord, 44.
Howle, 265.
Hubard, 62.
Hume, *History of England*, 80, 182.
Hunter, 42, 81, 147, 236, 237.

Indians, 7, 8, 11, 16, 17, 62, 71, 119, 129, 130, 132, 137, 260.
Indian Fields, 93, 96, 260.
Indian School at the College, 119, 132, 137, 142, 160, 174.
Inglis, 123, 128, 129, 130, 232.
Inn Keepers, 24.
Innis, 24, 65, 70, 164, 244.
Irvine, 41, 131, 136, 142.
Isle of Wight County, 112, 127, 130.

Jackson, 96, 129, 180.
James I., 110; II., 124.
James City County, 14, 50, 72, 74, 88, 92, 93, 127, 206, 221, 225, 238, 239, 240, 255, 257.
James City Court House, 57, 238, 239.

Digitized by Google

James River, 7, 10, 19, 20, 24, 45, 65, 82, 84, 259, 261.
Jameson, 58.
Jamestown, 7, 8, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 20, 74, 84, 98, 107, 114, 125, 129, 142, 198, 208, 224, 239, 253, 257, 258.
Jamestown Island, 258; *Picture*, 258.
Jefferson, Thomas, 42, 56, 60, 61, 71, 78, 81, 153, 157, 168, 170, 172, 174, 175, 176, 184, 202, 210, 232, 234, 236, *Appendix;* his *account* as student, 157; *Portrait*, 159.
Jeffryes, 16.
Jenings, 20, 22, 97, 98, 99, 108, 228, 258.
Jewellers, 57.
Jockey's Neck, 13.
Johns, John, 183, 188; *Autograph of*, 183; *Portrait*, 191.
Johnson, 34, 74, 156, 158, 162.
Johnston, 91, 190, 237, 252, 255.
Jones, 18, 19, 24, 26, 43, 94, 96, 97, 98, 108, 130, 132, 133, 144, 151, 153, 158, 160, 164, 166, 180, 182, 192, 206, 208, 214, 221, 225, 264, 265, *Appendix*.

Kean, 228.
Kecoughtan, 7.
Keith, 108, 182.
Kempe, 13, 257.
Kendall, 97, 98.
Kennon, 138.
Kent Island, 8, 11.
Kerseboom, 198.
King, 112.
King's Creek, 8, 14, 21, 259, 260, 262.
King's Creek Plantation, 259.
King William's School, 21.
Kingsmill, 262.
Kiskyacke, 8.
Knights of the Horseshoe, 25, 214.
Knox, 226.

La Fayette, 83, 88, 252.
Lake, 12.
Laneville, 67.
Lawrence, 218.
Lawyers, 24, 28, 29, 30, 57, 74.
Law School at Litchfield, 178.
Law School at William and Mary, 170, 172, 178, 186.
Lecture System, 153, 174.
Lectern, 108.
Lee, 32, 54, 56, 60, 72, 75, 77, 78, 257, 264; Richard Henry, *Portrait of*, 75.
Lefevre, 129.
Leigh, 160.
Lely, 198.
Lenox Library, 147.
Leslie, 81.
Lettson, 61.
Levingston, 224, 226, 240, 250.
Lewis, 62, 77.
Lexington, Battle of, 66, 222.
Liberty Bell, 102, 103, 105, 107.
Lightfoot, 21, 128, *Appendix*.
Littlepage, 209.
Little England, 45.
Littletown, 262.
Lively, 237.
London Company, 49, 110, 111.
Long, 287.
Louisa County, 56.
Lovers' Lane, 25.
Ludlow, 261.
Ludwell, 13, 18, 21, 33, 94, 96, 99, 100, 123, 125, 128, 150, 209, 252, 257.
Luke, 24.
Lundy, 188.
Lunsford, 261.
Lyons, 38.

Macon, 96.
Madison, James, 61, 82, 86, 162, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176, 178, 180, 182, 183, 189, 198; *Autograph*, 183, 244; *Portrait of*, 185.
Magdalene, The, 65, 222.
Magruder, 94.
Main, The, 83.
Manufactures, 37, 56.
Markham, John, 155.
Marot, 24, 232.
Marlborough, 22, 28, 125, 133.
Marshall, 158, 166, 167, 202; John, *Portrait of*, 167, 177.
Marston Parish, 93, 94.
Martian, 8, 260.
Martin's Hundred, 7, 8, 13, 93, 259, 261.
Mary, Queen, 116, 118, 200, 214.
Maryland, 49, 61, 78, 126.
Maryland Gazette, 150.

Digitized by Google

Mason, 48, 72, 75, 77, 212; *Portrait of*, 75.
Masonic Fraternity, 74.
Masonic Lodge, 245, 247; *Picture of*, 247; *Picture of chair*, 247.
Massie, 74.
Mattey's Free School, 12, 22, 57, 218, 219, 220, 256. (The Matthew Whaley Observation and Practice School.)
Mathews, 7, 90.
Mattapony, 67, 93, 209.
Maupin, 24, 246.
Maury, 38, 43, 154.
Maynard, 25.
Mayo, 136.
Mazzei, 172, 244.
McCabe, 94.
McCandlish House, 255.
McCandlish, 255, 260.
McClellan, George B., 91; Headquarters, *Appendix*.
McClurg, 42, 62, 82, 86, 170, 172, 178, 245.
McKenzie, 33, 216, 232.
McLean, 182.
Meade, 103, 232.
Medals, 54, 61, 161, 162, 166.
Medical School, 172, 178.
Meherrin Indians, 130.
Menifie, 13, 257, 262.
Meole, 18.
Mercer, 40, 42, 66, 72.
Meredith, 109.
Methodism, 141.
Middleton, 16.
Middletown Plantation, 7-19, 93, 94, 96, 98, 122, 125.
Middletown Parish, 93, 94.
Millington, 91, 186.
Mills, 250.
Milner, 122.
Ministers of Bruton Church, 108, 109.
Modern Languages, when first taught, 170, 172.
Monroe, 202, 234, 245; James, *Portrait of*, 165.
Montague, 65, 68.
Montreal, 49.
Moody, 34, 256.
Moon, 112.
Moore, 164.
Morecock House, *Appendix*.
Morgan, 61.
Morris, 99.
Moryson (Morrison), 16, 161, 189.
Mullikin, 123.
Munford, 207.
Mutlow, 16.
Murray, 55, 59, 69, 228, 232.
Muse, 231.

Nairne, 189.
Narrangansett Bay, 56.
Nansemond County, 127.
Negroes, School for, 57.
Neill, 111, 216.
Nelson, 33, 54, 56, 66, 74, 75, 77, 83, 168, 178, 182, 198, 212, 240, 242, 244, 248, 254; William, *Portrait of*, 75.
Nelson House, 261.
Newbern, 225.
New Castle, 67, 209.
New Jersey, 49.
New Kent County, 67, 72, 74, 81, 90, 93, 224, 254.
Newport News, 111, 260.
New York, 61, 72, 83, 85, 126, 228.
Nicholas, 52, 60, 64, 65, 68, 72, 76, 102, 217, 245.
Nicholson, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 114, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 160, 205, 230; *Autograph of*, 23.
Non-importation associations, 48, 62.
Norfolk, 228.
Norfolk County, 127.
North, Lord, 59, 64, 68, 70, 71.
North Carolina, 14, 129, 236.
Northington, 12, *Appendix*.
Northumberland, 166.
Norvell, 98.
Noted Residences, 248-256, *Appendix*.
Nott, 21, 22, 23, 24, 108, 213; *Tombstone*, 23.
Nottingham, Lord, 116.
Nottoways, King of the, 16, 130.
Nottoway River, 130.
Objects of interest at the College, 198-200.
Ogle, 32, 228, 230.
"Olive Branch," The, 68, 71.
Ordinary Keepers, 24, 57, 232, 234, 240.
Organ in the church, 100.
Orphan children educated, 112.
Otis, 38.
Overby, 109.
Owen, 147, 150.

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Pack, 24.
Page, 13, 19, 21, 42, 57, 58, 61, 65, 66, 72, 96, 98, 102, 108, 109, 122, 128, 153, 163, 198, 218, 250, *Appendix;* John, *Portrait of*, 163.
Palace, The, 22, 32, 37, 80, 213, 220, 221, 230.
Palace Green, 33, 220, 231, 240, 248, 250, 255.
Palisades, 11, 12.
Palmer, 111.
Pamunkey King, 8.
Pamunkey Neck, 118, 124.
Pamunkey, Queen of, 16, 130; frontlet, 16, 17.
Pamunkey River, 7, 8, 32, 209.
Pape, 119, 200.
Paper Mill, 30, 57.
Paradise House, 251, 252; *Picture of*, 251.
Parke, 18, 94, 99, 108, 123, 124, 125; Daniel, Jr., *Portrait of*, 29.
Parks, 28, 30, 57, 134, 143, 236.
Parmalee, 166, 169.
"Parson's Cause," 38, 153, 154, 162.
Partridge, 58.
Pasteur, 57, 66.
Paulinus, 119.
Peachy, 88, 250.
Peachy House, 85, 88, 249, 250; *Picture of*, 249.
Pearson, 57.
Peasley, 114.
Pelham, 100, 230.
Pendleton, Edmund, 66, 72, 75, 76, 77, 213; *Portrait of*, 75.
Pennsylvania, 126, 176.
Perry, 116, 140.
Peyton Randolph House 250, 254; *Picture of*, 249.
Phi Beta Kappa Society, 166, 169, 200, 233, 234; *Page from records*, 169; *Picture of keys*, 233.
Philadelphia, 59, 61, 62, 64, 74, 228, 242.
Philadelphia, College of, 147.
Phillips, 82.
Philosophy School, 114, 118, 129, 133, 136, 142, 143, 150, 158, 160, 162, 166, 182.
Physicians, 24, 25, 57, 244.
Piankatank, 30.
Picks, 16.
Pinkney, 236, 237.
Pirates, 25, 27, 118, 119.
Pitt, 36, 42.
Play House (see Theatre).
Pocahontas, 110.
Point Comfort, 7.
Point Pleasant, 62.
Pollard, 265, 266.
Political Economy, first taught at William and Mary, 170, 171, 172.
Popeley, 11, 12.
Poplar Island, 11.
Poplar Neck, 93, 258.
Population, 37, 58, 86, 92.
Poropotanke, 93.
Porteus, 174.
Porto Bello, 78, 259.
Portraits, 54, 138, 198, 245.
Pott, 10, *Appendix.*
Powder Magazine, 64, 70, 98, 140, 222, 223; *Picture of*, 223.
Powell, 57, 64, 100, 102, 242.
Power, 100.
Powhatan Plantation, 257.
Powhatan Swamp, 13, 257.
Prentis, 76, 102, 103, 244.
Presidents and Professors, 194-198.
President's House, 82, 113, 138, 168, 191; *Picture*, 113.
Preston, 43, 143, 144, 146, 147, 151, 228.
Princess Anne Port, 20.
Princeton College, 49, 180.
Printing office, 28, 236, 237.
Proclamations, 68, 81, 85, 126.
Providence, 61.
Purdie, 64, 66, 236, 237.

Queen's College, 25, 136.
Queen's Creek, 10, 12, 20, 22, 55, 56, 57, 93, 94, 96, 256, 259.
Queen Mary's Port, 20, 25, 57, 218, 256.
Queen Mary's Road, 57, 218.

Races, 26, 58.
Raleigh, 232, 235.
Raleigh Tavern, 33, 40, 45, 48, 57, 58, 60, 70, 81, 86, 166, 228, 230, 232-235, 240; *Picture of*, 233.
Ramsay, 182, 186.
Randolph, John, 24, 26, 28, 57, 74, 140, 213, *Appendix; Portrait of*, 29; John of Roanoke, 250; Peyton, 28, 48, 57, 62, 65, 66, 68, 70, 72, 73, 74, 76, 100, 122, 134, 189, 198, 202, 230, 242, 245, 249, 254, 255, 256; *Appendix; Portrait of*,

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Randolph, John,—
73; Edmund, 74, 76, 160, 173, 202, 226, 253; *Portrait of*, 173; William, 122, 133, 232, 253.
Reade, 260.
Rigby, 229.
Richmond, 13, 72, 81, 82, 86, 88, 92, 174, 221, 231, 236, 237.
Rich Neck, 13, 257.
Riddell, 57.
Rind, 42, 236.
Ringfield, 259.
Riots, 180.
Ripon Hall, 22, 258.
Rittenhouse, 61.
Roane, Spencer; *Portrait of*, 17.
Roberts, 109.
Robertson, 24, 26.
Robinson, 28, 32, 37, 43, 58, 100, 122, 142, 144, 146, 147, 151, 153, 209.
Rochambeau, 83, 85, 252.
Rockingham, 42.
Rogers, 88, 175, 182, 200.
Roosevelt, 108.
Rosewell, 57, 61.
Routledge, 253.
Rowe, 43, 150, 153.
Rowsay, *Appendix*.
Royle, 236.
Ruffin, 88.
Ruffin's Ferry, 70.
Rush, Dr., 61.

Sabine Hall, 258, 259.
Salaries, 129, 133, 136, 137, 144, 147, 158.
Salisbury, Earl of, 7.
Sandys, 110.
Sanders, 89.
Saunders, 86, 183, 186, 188, 215, 217, 244, 250; Robert, *Autograph of*, 183; *Portrait of*, 191.
Saunders House, 33, 216, 217, 250; *View of*, 215.
Sawbridge, 59.
Scarbrough, 122.
Scarburgh, 189.
Scholarships, 130, *Appendix*.
Schools, 21, 49, 57, 111, 112, 119, 126, 127, 154, 168.
Science, 42, 57, 153.
Sclater, 74.
Scott, Winfield, 180, 202; *Portrait of*, 187.
Seagood, 214.
Seal of Virginia, 78.
Seawell, 184.
Secretarie's Land, 13.
Semple, 182, 184, 186, 244, 254, *Appendix*.
Sequeyra, 57, 244.
Serjanton, 24.
Seymour, 119, 120.
Sharpe, 24.
Shawnee, 62.
Shields, 232, 264.
Shenandoah Valley, 25.
Sheppey, 89.
Shipping Receipt; *Photograph of*, 47.
Short, 169, 245.
Simpkins, 93, 96.
Singleton, 229.
Six Chimney Lot, 248.
Skelton, 210.
Skiffes Creek, 259.
Skimeno Creek, 93.
Slavery, 50, 55, 62, 65, 71, 130, 186, 188.
Small, Dr. William, 42, 43, 147, 153, 174, 189, *Appendix*.
Smead, 188, 189.
Smibert, 61.
Smith, 61, 66, 122, 166, 168, 170, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 242, 255, 259, 261, 262; J. Augustine, *Autograph of*, 183; *Portrait of*, 185.
Smollet, 80.
Smythe, 58.
Society for the Advancement of Useful Knowledge, 57, 61.
Society for the Promotion of Manufactures, 37.
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 119.
Sons of Liberty, 60.
Southall, 57, 62, 74, 234, 264.
Southampton, Earl of, 7.
South Carolina, 78, 81.
Spotswood, 22, 25, 26, 30, 98, 99, 129, 130, 133, 142, 153, 198, 213, 214, 222, 225, 234, 261.
Spotswood Cannon, 198.
Sprague, 178.
Sprowle, 50.
Spurr, 102.
Stagg, 224, 225.
Stamp Act, 38, 40, 42.
Stanton, 28, 32, 107.
State Prison, 221, 222.
Statutes of the College, 134, 143, 147, 182, *Appendix*.

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St. John's College, 21.
St. Paul's Cathedral, 123.
St. Simon, 83.
Stillingfleet, 116.
Stith, 34, 66, 108, 133, 138, 142, 143, 144, 236; *Book plate*, 145.
Storekeepers, 57.
Stretch, 67.
Stuart, 55, 252; Lady Christine, 108.
Stubbs, 193.
Students, numbers of, 144, 160, 168, 172, 180, 184, 186, 188, 194, 267, *Appendix;* Names of, 148, 149.
Summary of Leading Facts regarding the College, 200-204.
Sun dial, 198.
Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, 83, 92.
Surry County, 65, 130.
Surveyor's Bond, 155.
Susquehanna River, 112.
Syms, 112.

Tabb, 72.
Taliaferro, 192, 248, 257; William B., *Portrait of*, 187.
Talbot County, Maryland, 49.
Tannery, The, 57, 257.
Tappahannock, 228.
Tarpley, 57, 102, 103, 107.
Tayloe, 90, 259.
Taylor, 90.
Tazewell, 57, 64, 180, 226, 240, 242, 244, 245, 253, 258.
Tazewell Hall, 253.
Tea Taxes, 42, 50, 59.
Teach (see Black Beard), 25.
Temple Farm, 28, 261.
Text Books at College, 170.
Thacher, 84.
The Theatre, 24, 33, 36, 224, 232; 240, 250.
Advertisement of "Merchant of Venice," 227.
Thomson, 22.
Thorpe, 13, 14, 18, 19, 110, 111, 253, 257.
Ticknor, 172.
Tillotson, 116, 119.
Timson, 97, 98, 256.
Tobacco, 80.
Todd, 178.
Totten, 188.
Townshend, 42.
Townsend's Land, 19.
Transfer of the College, 134, 192.
Traquair, 108, 252.
Travis, 74, 153, 244.
Trebell, 232.
Tucker, 58, 82, 83, 85, 86, 172, 176, 178, 180, 186, 188, 189, 226, 245, 250, *Appendix;* St. George, *Portrait of*, 177; Nathaniel B., *Portrait of*, 201; Henry St. George, *Portrait of*, 201.
Tucker House, 226, 250, 251; *Picture of*, 251.
Tullitt, 206.
Turkey Island, 133, 253.
Tuttey's Neck, *Appendix.*
"Two Penny Act," 38, 146, 147, 150, 154, 162.
Tyler, 12, 21, 24, 58, 59, 63, 67, 74, 88, 90, 97, 98, 177, 179, 180, 184, 189, 192, 193, 198, 200, 202, 213, 216, 232, 239, 253, 254, 255, 259, *Appendix;* John, the marshall, *Autograph*, 63; John, Sr., *Portraits of*, 177, 203; John, chancellor, *Portrait of*, 179.
Ultra Montane Expedition, 25, 214.
University of Virginia, 175, 176, 184.
Underhill, 259.
Utie, 259.
Varina Parish, 114.
Vernon, 126.
Vest, 90.
Vest House, *Appendix.*
Vicinity of Williamsburg, 257, 263.
Vincennes, 81, 221.
Vineyard Land, 49, 50.
Virginia Conventions, 61, 62, 64, 72, 76.
Virginia Gazette, 28, 30, 42, 44, 45, 49, 60, 64, 66, 77, 81, 158, 213, 216, 225, 227, 228, 236, 237, 240, 246, 256, 262.
Virginia Historical Society, 13, 16.
Virginia Navy, 80.
Virginia Seal, 80.
Wake, 140.
Walker, 42, 60, 74, 153, 242.
Wall, 109.
Waller, 34, 57, 62, 90, 100, 102, 228, 229, 242, 244, 255, 256, 260.
Waller House 255.
Waller's Grove, 77, 256.
Walthoe, 33, 46.
Warburton, 249, 252.
Ware Parish, 154.

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Warwick County, 72, 74, 126.
Warrington, 146.
Washington, 18, 19, 30, 34, 37, 48, 60, 66, 72, 80, 81, 83, 84, 143, 178, 188, 189, 202, 231, 245, 248, 250, 254; George, *Portraits of*, 179, 181.
Watt, 153.
Webb, 150.
Webster, 254.
Weldon, 13.
Weld's *Travels*, 86.
West, 16, 93, 198, 258, 260.
Westover, 82.
West Point, 258, 260.
Wetherburn, 232.
Wethersford, 11.
Whaley, 21, 22, 127, 218-220, 259; *Tombstone*, 219.
Wharton, 109, 193.
Wheat, cultivation of, 84.
Wheatley, 180.
White, 123.
Whitefield, 141.
Whiting, 141.
William, King, 20, 116, 126, 200, 214.
William and Mary College: early movements towards education, 110; the College at Henrico, 111; East India School, 111; Syms' School, 112; Subscriptions to a college in 1660, 112; Dr. James Blair revives the project of a college, 114; visits England and presents the petition of the General Assembly of Virginia, 115; Queen Mary, in council, orders a charter to be granted, 118; endowment granted, 118; the pirate fund, 119; the Boyle fund for the education of Indians, 119; terms of the charter, 120, 122; coat of arms, 120; boundary stone, 121; first chancellor, 122; first trustees, 122; right to send a burgess, 122, *Appendix;* location, 122; bricks, plans, walls, 123; grammar school, 123; subscriptions, 124; royal proclamation, 126; quarrel between Nicholson and Blair, 127, 128; main building destroyed by fire, 128; restored, 129; philosophy school established, 129, 133; scholarships at, 130, *Appendix;*
William and Mary College—
Brafferton School, 129-133; house for Indians built, 132; Library, 36, 84, 133, 141, 189, 190, 194; salaries, 129, 133, 136, 137, 144, 147, 158; transfer, 134; statutes, 134, 143, 147, 182; courses of study, 114, 134-138, 153, 178, 200, 204, *Appendix;* divinity school established, 137; chapel erected, 138; President's house founded in 1732, 138; John Randolph goes on a mission to England in behalf of, 140; gifts by the General Assembly 122, 129, 134, 140, 141 150; visit of George Whitefield, 141; death of Dr. Blair, 142; conventions of the clergy at, 114, 144, 147, 160; students in 1754, 144; dissensions over the two-penny act, 146-148; diploma to Benjamin Franklin, 151; Dr. William Small introduces the lecture system, 153; physical apparatus, 153, 182; finances of the college, 156, 174, 182, 192, 194, 204; Botetourt medal, 158; list of professors and other officers, 158; dissensions over American Episcopacy, 160; College seal, 120, 164; prominent alumni, 153, 159, 163, 165, 167, 177, 180, 187, 200-203; reorganization in 1779, 166; President's house Cornwallis' headquarters, 168; college military company, 168; Jefferson's bill for amending charter, 168-170; faculty in 1779, 170; schools of law, medicine and modern languages established, 170; grammar school and divinity school abolished, 170; textbooks at, 170, 178; injured by the American Revolution, 174; lecture system, 174, 175; elective system, 175; honor system, 176; chair of history established, 178, 182; chancellors since the Revolution, 179; system of study in 1804, 180; attempted removal of college to Richmond in 1824, 184; Professor Dew's administration, 186; question of slavery, how treated, 186-188; main building burnt in 1859, 189; re-

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William and Mary College—
stored, 189, 190; general catalogue, 189; closed during the war between the States, 190; main building burned in 1862, 190, 199; instruction renewed after the war, 192; suspension for seven years (1881-1888), 192; normal course established in 1888, 192; faculty reorganized, 193; college transferred to the State, 193; present condition, 194; list of presidents and professors, 194-198; objects of interest at college, 198-200; summary of leading facts, 200-204.
William and Mary College main building: Burned, 22, 88, 91, 128, 189, 190 199; *Views*, 113, 135, 199.
Williamsburg: Chart of, *Frontispiece;* settled as Middle Plantation, 7-19; map of vicinity, 9; Bacon's convention at, 14; Drummond executed at, 14; peace with Indians in 1677 celebrated at, 16; meeting of the first assembly after Bacon's rebellion, 18; brick church at, 18; college at, 19, 110-204; Colonial Williamsburg, 19-38; capital removed to, and the place called Williamsburg, 20; first survey, 20; first plat of Williamsburg opposite to page 20; palace or governor's house, 22; brick capitol at, 21, 205-213; Mattey's Free School, 22; second brick church, 24; powder magazine, 24; theatre, 24; appearance of in 1723, 24; pirates hung at, 25; made a city incorporate, 26; Virginia *Gazette* established at, 28; paper mill at, 30; additions to, 34; Washington in, 17; appearance of in 1759, 37; population, 37; "Cradle of the Revolution," 38-87; excitement caused by the "Two Penny Act," 38; Henry's speech on the stamp act, 40; excitement over the tea tax, 42; Botetourt arrives in, 45; dissolves the assembly, 48; Witherspoon's visit to, 49; vineyard near, 49; Cape Company meets
Williamsburg—
at, 50; funeral of Botetourt, 50; American episcopacy in, 54; arrival of Lord Dunmore, 55; factory established on Queen's Creek, 56; schools at, 57; society for the promotion of useful knowledge formed at, 57; fire engines procured, 58; population in 1773, 58; races at, 58; appearance of in 1759, 58; balls, etc. at, 60; powder abstracted from the magazine, 64; Henry marches on Williamsburg, 67; city volunteers, 70; Dunmore flees from the palace, 71; committee of safety appointed 72; battalion of troops formed, 72, 74; conventions of the colony held in, 62, 64, 72, 76, 77, 78; State Constitution adopted, 77; Patrick Henry governor, 80; Thomas Jefferson governor, 81; Cornwallis' army at, 82; American army, 83; appearance of in 1781, 84; peace with Great Britain celebrated at, 85, 86; college village, 86-92; population in 1779 and 1795, 86; appearance in 1804, 88; visited by Lafayette, 88; home of President Tyler, 88; appearance in 1859, 90; its contribution to the war, 91; present population, 92; Bruton Church, 93-110; College of William and Mary, 110-205; the Capitol, 205-213; the governor's house or palace, 213-221; the State prison, 221-224; the theatre, 224-232; the Raleigh Tavern, 232-235; the printing office, 236-238; Williamsburg jail, 238; James City county court-house, 239; county and city court-house, 240-241; hospital for the insane, 242-245; Masonic lodge, 245-248; noted residences in, 248-256; Queen Mary's Port, 256; residences near, 257-262; Williamsburg *Cavalier*, 237, *Appendix*.
Willie, 162.
Wilmer, William H., 104, 108, 109, 183, 184; *Autograph*, 183.
Windsor, 30, 57.
Wirt, William, 252.

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Wise, 90, 253.
Witherspoon, 49.
Wood, James, *commission as collector*, 31.
Woodham, 228.
Woodward, *Ecclesiastical Heraldry*, 120.
Wormeley, 66, 122, 124, 261.
Wormeley's Creek, 8, 261.
Worrell, 198
Wray, 47.
Wren, 123, 133.
Wright, 126.
Wyatt, 7, 12.
Wynne, 245.
Wythe, George, 42, 46, 57, 61, 64, 78, 84, 102, 170, 174, 178, 186, 198, 210, 234, 235, 242, 248, 251, 253, *Appendix; Portrait of*, 177.
Wythe House, 84, 170, 248; *Picture of*, 251.
Yale College, 166.
Yates, 41, 108, 137, 143, 153, 154, 157; William, *Autograph of*, 157.
Yonge, Captain Thomas, 10.
York, 8.
York county, 11, 18, 20, 73, 74, 92, 94, 127, 166, 218, 225, 226, 232, 240, 251, 260.
York Hampton Parish, 156, 162, 264.
York Parish, 12, 261.
York River, 7, 8, 14, 19, 45, 71, 84, 94, 122, 258, 259, 260, 261.
Yorkshire 11, 137, 200.
Yorktown, 12, 19, 21, 32, 33, 34, 50, 55, 58, 61, 65, 67, 74 83, 85, 88, 92, 122, 141, 168, 190, 217, 224, 226, 228, 260, 261; *Pictures of windmill and seal*, 263.

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